FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-032
Thursday
15 February 1990

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-90-032* *15 February 1990*

## CONTENTS

### ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

- Moscow Media Reports on 'Open Skies' Conference ..... 1
  - TASS Correspondent's Report ..... 1
  - Moscow TV Coverage ..... 1
  - IZVESTIYA Report *[15 Feb]* ..... 2
  - Warsaw Pact Members Comment *[TASS]* ..... 3
- NATO's Woerner Welcomes Ottawa Agreement *[TASS]* ..... 3
- First Round of Trade Talks With U.S. Closes *[TASS]* ..... 3
- International Seminar Urges Naval Arms Reduction *[TASS]* ..... 4
- Asaturov on Troop Withdrawals From CSSR *[Moscow International]* ..... 4
- Chemical Weapons Destruction Considered *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Feb]* ..... 5

### COMMUNIST RELATIONS

- TASS Reports on Warsaw Treaty Meeting 14 Feb ..... 9
  - CSCE, Europe Discussed ..... 9
  - Chiefs Meet in Sofia ..... 9
- Hungary's Medgyessy Chairs CEMA Session *[Budapect MTI]* ..... 9
- Athens Session Starts 'Democratization' Process *[IZVESTIYA 13 Feb]* ..... 9

### WORLDWIDE ISSUES

- TASS Reports on Gerasimov's 14 Feb Briefing ..... 11
  - Troops Reduction ..... 11
  - Upcoming Havel Visit ..... 11
  - German Unification ..... 11
  - Export Controls ..... 11
- U.S. Spokesman Cited on Bush-Woerner Talks *[PRAVDA 13 Feb]* ..... 12
- Falin Stresses Germany's International Commitments *[Vienna Radio]* ..... 12
- U.S. Wants German Unity To Maintain Role *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 9 Feb]* ..... 12
- GDR 'Ultimate Loser' in Currency Ties *[IZVESTIYA 9 Feb]* ..... 13

### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### United States & Canada

- TASS Reports on Shevardnadze's Visit to Canada ..... 15
  - Talks Held With Mulroney ..... 15
  - German Reunification Discussed ..... 15
- Headway Made in Humanitarian Talks With U.S. *[TASS]* ..... 15
- Bessmertnykh Interviewed on U.S. Relations *[Moscow TV]* ..... 16
- Plans for Central Asian Broadcasts Questioned *[TASS]* ..... 18
- TASS Notes U.S. 'Star Wars' Rocket Launch ..... 18
- Security for President's Cartagena Visit Noted *[TASS]* ..... 19

#### China

- PRC Bans 'Front for Democracy in China' *[IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* ..... 19
- Changes in PRC Policy Toward Businessmen *[Moscow International]* ..... 19
- Army's Marxism-Leninism, Mao Thought Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 8 Feb]* ..... 20

### Southeast Asia & Pacific

- Reportage on Ryzhkov's Visit to Thailand ... 20
  - IZVESTIYA on Visit *[12 Feb]* ... 20
  - Thai Premier's Speech Reported *[PRAVDA 13 Feb]* ... 21
  - Ryzhkov's Meeting With King *[IZVESTIYA 14 Feb]* ... 22
  - Radio Summarizes Visit 13 Feb *[Moscow International]* ... 23
  - Comparison—Luncheon Speech ... 24
  - Comparison—Chunhawan Talks ... 25
  - Comparison—Joint Communique ... 25
- Prime Minister Ryzhkov Visiting Australia ... 25
  - Meets Melbourne Businessmen *[IZVESTIYA 14 Feb]* ... 25
  - Attends Luncheon; Hawke Speaks *[TASS]* ... 26
  - Opens Talks With Hawke 14 Feb *[Moscow Radio]* ... 26
  - Details Talks for Journalists *[PRAVDA 15 Feb]* ... 26
  - Further on News Conference *[Moscow Radio]* ... 27
- Speaks at Canberra Dinner *[TASS]* ... 27
  - Moscow TV Reports on Visit ... 28
  - Further Coverage on Visit *[cross-reference]* ... 28
- Rogachev, Australia's Evans Discuss Cambodia *[TASS]* ... 28

### Near East & South Asia

- Shevardnadze Outlines Afghanistan Peace Plan *[IZVESTIYA 15 Feb]* ... 28
- Najibullah Makes Proposals To Resolve Conflict *[TASS]* ... 32
- TASS Analyst on Afghan Situation ... 32

### Sub-Saharan Africa

- 'Concern' Over Armed Actions in Eritrea Noted *[TASS]* ... 33
- USSR Supports 'Peaceful Resolution' in Eritrea *[Moscow International]* ... 33
- Gorbachev Sends Congratulations to Mandela *[PRAVDA 14 Feb]* ... 34

### East Europe

- TV Says United Germany Possible 'This Year' *[Moscow TV]* ... 34
- Modrow Discusses Talks With FRG's Kohl *[Moscow TV]* ... 34
- East Germans View Economic, Monetary Union *[TASS]* ... 34
- Leipzig Pro-Unification Demonstration Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Feb]* ... 35
- ADN Cited on Reunification Talks in Ottawa *[TASS]* ... 35
- Petrovsky Talks With GDR's Neugebauer *[TASS]* ... 35
- SPD, West European Social Democrats Confer *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Feb]* ... 36
- Shakin on CSSR Troop Withdrawal Agreement *[Moscow International]* ... 36
- Communists Dismissed in CSSR TV Shake-up *[Moscow International]* ... 36
- Paper on CSSR Loyalty Tests for Newsmen *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Feb]* ... 37
- Czechoslovak Poll Puts Communists Second *[PRAVDA 12 Feb]* ... 38
- East European Democratic Forum in Vilnius *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 38

### West Europe

- FRG'S Bahr on Problems of German Unification *[TASS]* ... 38
- Falin, Delegation Visit European Parliament *[TASS]* ... 38
- Medvedev Delegation's London Visit Reported *[PRAVDA 13 Feb]* ... 39
  - Delegates Discuss Visit *[TASS]* ... 39
- Moiseyev Visits Finnish Air Force Detachment *[TASS]* ... 40
- Belgium's Coeme Tours Units Near Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Feb]* ... 40

### Latin America & Caribbean

- CPSU Delegation Arrives in Costa Rica *[TASS]* ... 40
- TASS Reports on Soviet-Cuban Trade Figures ... 40

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Supreme Soviet Session

- TASS Coverage of 15 Feb Supreme Soviet Session 41
  - Property Laws To Be Discussed 41
  - Abalkin Presents New Property Bill 41
- Moscow TV Carries Supreme Soviet Coverage 14 Feb 41
  - Discussion of Agenda Begins 41
  - Deputies Touch on Issues 42
  - Issues To Be Handled in 'Blocks' 43
  - Media Coverage Debated 44
- TASS Covers Supreme Soviet Agenda Discussion 44
  - Debates Continue 45
  - List of 'Top Priority' Issues Approved 45
- Gorbachev Reviews Agenda Discussion *[Moscow Radio]* 45
- Gorbachev on Law and Order, Decisionmaking *[TASS]* 47
- People's Deputies Likely To Meet End of February *[TASS]* 48
- Supreme Soviet Views Establishment of Presidency *[TASS]* 48
- Deputies Favor Relays of Supreme Soviet *[Moscow Radio]* 49
- Deputy's Speeches at 14 Feb Supreme Soviet 49
  - Lukyanov Previews Session *[Moscow TV]* 49
  - Antanaytis Notes Lithuanian Independence *[Moscow TV]* 55
  - Leadership Accountability Urged *[Moscow TV]* 56
  - Stankevich Views Presidency Issues *[Moscow TV]* 56
  - Lopatin on Military Reform *[Moscow TV]* 57
  - Azeri Deputy Urges 'Immediate Solution' *[Moscow TV]* 57
- Gorbachev Opens 14 Feb Evening Session *[Moscow TV]* 58
- Comparison of Gorbachev 14 Feb Opening Address *[PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 59

### CPSU Central Committee Plenum

- Sverdlovsk Leader Catalogs Party's Failures *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* 60
- Miner Discusses CPSU's 'Self-Flagellation' *[PRAVDA 8 Feb]* 62

### Tajikistan Situation

- Dushanbe Radio Reports on Tajikistan Situation 65
  - Investigation of Deaths Urged 65
  - Preacher at Mosque Appeals to People 65
  - Tajik Authorities Send Condolences 65
  - Residents Asked To Remain 'Calm' 65
- Moscow Newspapers Update Tajikistan Events 66
  - Soldiers Fire Into Air *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Feb]* 66
  - Election-Wrecking Seen Behind Riots *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 15 Feb]* 66
  - 'Mass Vandalism' Reported *[IZVESTIYA 15 Feb]* 67
- Moscow Radio Updates Tajikistan Developments 68
  - Dushanbe Situation Termed 'Complex' 68
  - Dushanbe 'More or Less Calm' 68
  - Yet 'Remains Extremely Tense' 68
- Moscow International Reports Tajik Events 69
  - Reports Note 'Too Few Troops' 69
  - 'Extremists' Provoking Unrest 69
  - Agreement Reached on Resignation, Troops *[Moscow International]* 70
- Unrest Reported in Dushanbe, Elsewhere *[Moscow TV]* 70
- Dushanbe Situation Becoming 'Even Graver' *[Moscow TV]* 70
- TASS Continues Reportage of Tajikistan Events 71
  - Situation Deteriorates 71
  - Tajik Plenum Considers Situation 71
  - Roundup of Dushanbe Situation 72

- AFP Carries Reports of Tajik Events 14-15 Feb ..... 72
  - Rioters 'Tried To Seize' Airport ..... 72
  - Paratroopers Arrive To Restore Order ..... 72
  - Calm After Three Leaders Resign ..... 73
  - More on Resignation ..... 73

## Regional Affairs

- Situation in Baku Generally 'Peaceful' *[Baku Radio]* ..... 73
- 9 Feb Council of Ministers Meeting *[Baku Radio]* ..... 74
- Azeri Writers Union Protests State of Emergency *[Baku Radio]* ..... 74
- Armenian Supreme Soviet on 'Genocide' in Baku *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 74
- Azeri Party Officials Meet Ethnic Representatives *[Baku Radio]* ..... 75
- Developments in Transcaucasia Updated *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 75
- Azeri Popular Front Demonstrates in Moscow *[Moscow International]* ..... 75
- Rumors of Azeri Influx Sparks Frunze Protest *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 13 Feb]* ..... 76
- MVD Updates Armenia Azerbaijan Situation *[TASS]* ..... 76
- Situation in Azerbaijan 'Quite Calm' *[TASS]* ..... 76
- TASS Updates Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh ..... 77
- Article Describes Army Actions in NKAO *[Yerevan International]* ..... 77
- Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Lacks Quorum *[Yerevan Radio]* ..... 77
- Statistics on Development in 1989 Detailed *[Baku Radio]* ..... 78
- Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Ends 14 Feb *[TASS]* ..... 78
- Vilnius Radio Carries Lithuanian Supreme Soviet ..... 78
  - Discuss Agrarian Problems ..... 78
  - Discuss Church, State Relations ..... 79
  - Stalinist Crimes Condemned ..... 80
  - Nuclear Power Station Discussed ..... 80
  - Speech by Brazauskas ..... 81
- 19 Feb Lithuanian Plenum To Discuss Party Role *[Vilnius International]* ..... 81
- Latvian Reporter on Democratic Platform *[Moscow Maritime Service]* ..... 81
- Latvian People's Front, Baltic Journalists Debate *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Feb]* ..... 82
- Proposals on Army Service Alternatives Published *[IZVESTIYA 13 Feb]* ..... 82
- Estonian Political 'Confrontation' Viewed *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 6 Feb]* ..... 83
- 'Illegal Decisions' in Tallinn Noted *[TASS]* ..... 85
- Dneprodzerzhinsk Plenum Notes 'Confidence' Issue *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 85
- Salaries of Party Officials Made Public *[TASS]* ..... 85
- Religious Conflict in Western Ukraine Viewed *[Moscow TV]* ..... 86
- PRAVDA's Frolov Visits Vinnitsa Electorate *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 86
- Roundtable on Discontent Among Slavs *[Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS 8 Feb]* ..... 87
- Kharkov Obkom Elects First Secretary *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 7 Jan]* ..... 88
- Archbishop Kirill on Ukraine Church Conflict *[IZVESTIYA 4 Feb]* ..... 88
- Health Consequences of Chernobyl Reported *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 31 Dec]* ..... 90
- Meeting on Chernobyl Held in Gomel *[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 21 Dec]* ..... 91
- Plight of Chernobyl Vets Described *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Feb]* ..... 92
- Plan To Eliminate Chernobyl Effects Drafted *[TASS]* ..... 93
- New Guidelines Cover Chernobyl Victims' Treatment *[PRAVDA 9 Feb]* ..... 94
- Moscow TV on Kishinev Mass Meeting ..... 94
- Party Secretary on 8 Feb Meetings With Gorbachev *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 95
- Committee Formed To Found Russian Communist Party *[TASS]* ..... 96
- Muscovites View Article 6, Multiparty System *[Moscow TV]* ..... 96
- Moscow Workers Rally in Support of Gdlyan *[TASS]* ..... 96
- Moscow Voters Group Pickets TASS Building *[TASS]* ..... 97
- TASS Reports Explosion at Donetsk Mine ..... 97
- Street Meetings Demand Politburo Resignation *[Moscow TV]* ..... 97
- Sverdlovsk Obkom First Secretary Replaced ..... 98
  - 'Resignation' Offered *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 98
  - Secretary's Loss 'No Accident' *[TRUD 6 Feb]* ..... 98
  - Deputy Assumes Post *[PRAVDA 13 Feb]* ..... 99
- Ufa Obkom Bureau Resigns After Criticism *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Feb]* ..... 100
- Ufa Plenum Demands Bashkir Obkom Resignations *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 102

Ufa City Communists Oust Oblast Leaders *[IZVESTIYA 8 Feb]* ........ 102
Murmansk Obkom Secretary Withdraws Candidacy *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Feb]* ........ 102
Volgograd Obkom Holds Expanded Plenum *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Feb]* ........ 103
Further on Volgograd Obkom Situation *[PRAVDA 28 Jan]* ........ 103
Many Komi Leaders To Run for Election Unopposed
*[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 10 Feb]* ........ 106
Karaganda Miners Committee Renews Strike Status *[Moscow Radio]* ........ 106
Khabarovsk TV, Telecommunications Improved *[Khabarovsk Radio]* ........ 106
Kaluga Obkom Official Withdraws From Elections *[Moscow Radio]* ........ 106
Saratov Soviet Splits Planned Election Meeting *[IZVESTIYA 11 Feb]* ........ 106
Magadan Political Journal Renamed *[Magadan Radio]* ........ 107
Baklanov Visits Kirov Oblast 12-14 Feb *[Moscow Radio]* ........ 107
Ulyanovsk Rally Demands Officials' Resignation *[TASS]* ........ 107
Former Uzbek Official Sentenced to Labor Colony *[TASS]* ........ 108
Baltic Merchant Fleet To End 'Commissar' System *[TASS]* ........ 108
Envoy to France Notes One-Party System *[Paris LE MONDE 7 Feb]* ........ 108
Moscow Jewish Congress Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Feb]* ........ 108
MVD Official Stresses Disaster Readiness *[PRAVDA 6 Feb]* ........ 110
Sakhalin Natives Form Association *[TASS]* ........ 112

## Economic

Gorbachev Adviser Petrakov on Market Economy *[TASS]* ........ 112
Price Hikes Reversed After Trade Unions Complain *[PRAVDA 11 Feb]* ........ 113
City Economist Comments on Moscow Experiment *[IZVESTIYA 13 Feb]* ........ 114
Officials Discuss Food, Power, Railways Resources
*[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 7 Feb]* ........ 115
Far North Industry Face Environmental Curbs *[IZVESTIYA 6 Feb]* ........ 116
Implications of New Estonian Currency Explored *[TASS]* ........ 116

## Military

Moiseyev Views Military Section of Party Platform *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Feb]* ........ 117
Chief Lizichev Views Plenum at Ministry Aktiv *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Feb]* ........ 119

## Moscow Media Reports on 'Open Skies' Conference

### TASS Correspondent's Report

*LD1402021490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2145 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Report by TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa, 14 February [date as received; Moscow time]—At the "Open Skies" Conference taking place here, the Warsaw Treaty Organization [WTO] member countries set out their joint position on the issue on Tuesday. THe conference, attended by all states in the two alliances—the WTO and NATO—has to reach an accord that would enable unarmed flights to be made over each other's territory to observe military activity.

The document 'The Main Provisions of an "Open Skies" Agreement', presented on behalf of the WTO by the Hungarian delegation, shows that the member countries of this alliance do, in principle, attach great importance to the transfer from individual measures for building confidence, openness, and glasnost in international affairs as a whole—and in the military sphere in particular—to a wide-scale policy that would become a component of a universal system of international security. Such a system is seen as an important factor in actually consolidating confidence and in boosting the capacity for forecasting the actions of states, and also as one of the components of progress along the road to disarmament. In the opinion of the WTO countries, an "open skies" regime must operate everywhere rather than on a selective basis. This regime could become part of a global system for strengthening trust and for lessening the risk of war. The system would embrace not only the sky, but also the land, the seas and oceans, and space as well. The WTO believes the observation flights must be made on a reciprocal basis, and all sides must have equal access to information. Although so far it is just a matter of the member states of the two alliances, the opportunity has been left open for other countries to accede to the agreement. Flights must be permitted over the whole territory of the members of the two blocs. States having military bases on foreign territory are invited to enter into talks with third countries to secure their agreement to carrying out observation. From the point of view of the document's authors, the best way would be to create a joint fleet of aircraft for observation. Such aircraft could be flown by mixed crews and have on board mixed groups of observers. The best solution would be to install in the planes unified equipment or fittings, the main technical properties of which would be agreed.

Ideas about flight procedure are submitted for consideration. Specifically, demands must be lodged at least 24 hours before an aircraft leaves its own territory.

The WTO countries take the view that restrictions on observation flights must be minimal. Questions associated with the closing to flights of areas where the flights involve a definite risk may be discussed at the conference. It is a matter, for example, of missile launch sites and corridors set aside for tests. Special rules must be devised regarding such installations as nuclear power stations, large chemical plants and so on.

The document submitted by the WTO states, like the NATO countries' agreed 'Report on the Main Elements,' will form the basis for discussion at the Ottawa conference during the next two weeks. Groups of experts from all 23 WTO and NATO member countries will take part in these discussions.

### Moscow TV Coverage

*LD1402202190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Ottawa "Open Skies" Conference at the foreign minister level has ended.

[Begin correspondent V. Fotinov recording] The foreign ministers of six states—the USSR, the United States, the FRG, France, Great Britain and the GDR—have declared their decision to create a special international mechanism. [video shows Shevardnadze, Baker, Genscher, Dumas, Hurd, and Fischer standing together for photographs]

The point is the so-called "four plus two" formula—the four states which signed the Potsdam Agreement in 1945 plus the GDR and the FRG. I would like to stress in particular: The participants in that formula proceed from the fact that German unity should be built first and foremost by the Germans themselves, without any interference from outside. [video shows Genscher and Fischer talking together in armchairs]

The decision which was adopted in Ottawa concerns, first of all, the foreign policy aspect of the problem; for example—such a problem as guaranteeing the security of neighboring states. [video shows "Open Skies" Conference in session]

This statement was the first sensation of the day. The second sensation was the statement of the USSR and the United States about the acheivement of an arrangement concerning the number of armed forces in Europe—195,000 on each side. The United States may have a further 30,000 in countries which do not come under the term "central Europe." The Soviet-U.S. arrangement makes possible a successful completion of the Vienna talks about conventional weapons this year. [video shows Baker and Shevardnadze standing together]

The "Open Skies" initiative received general support in Ottawa. The ministers passed a joint communique. It says that the open skies regime will enable more glasnost to be achieved in other spheres, too. I will remind you that the Soviet Union has proposed opening up for inspection not just the skies, but also the sea, space, and land. The Warsaw Pact and NATO have invited other countries, which are not members of those alliances, to particpate in the agreement. [video shows conference in progress; scenes outside the conference hall] [end recording]

### IZVESTIYA Report

*PM1502093390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Special correspondent A. Shalnev report: "What the Ministers Agreed: Questions of German Unity and European Disarmament and the Problem of 'Open Skies' at Ottawa Meeting"]

[Text] The meeting of Warsaw Pact and NATO foreign ministers in Ottawa, held within the framework of the "Open Skies" Conference, has ended with the adoption of some important statements. The meeting's agenda proved to be immeasurably broader than the given framework.

The first item to be agreed was a statement on the German question—a statement containing three proposals. The statement says, among other things, that the FRG and GDR foreign ministers will meet with the foreign ministers of France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States to discuss external aspects of the building of German unity, including questions of neighboring states' security.

In my view this statement is first not only in order but also in importance, because henceforth the unification of Germany is effectively transferred to the sphere of practical solutions and actions. Under this formula, the two Germanies will work in the immediate future to resolve problems of a domestic nature, so to speak, while foreign policy problems will be examined by the six countries. Those problems include, for example, the future united Germany's membership of NATO, the character of that membership (the French option has not been ruled out, namely, participation in the North Atlantic Alliance's political structure but not its military one), and military equipment.

The statement did not say when specifically meetings between representatives of the two Germanies and, later, of the six foreign ministers as a whole may begin. Behind the scenes at the Ottawa conference, however, journalists were informed that the starting point will be the GDR general election.

No one is hiding the fact that the formula adopted in Ottawa contains much that is unclear and imprecise. Quite often the question was raised of the extent to which the two Germanies should consider the wishes and recommendations of the four powers. And the counterquestion to that: How far may the four countries persist in their attempts to ensure that their recommendations are taken into account?

It is appropriate here to cite the comment of FRG Foreign Minister Genscher in connection with the statement on the German problem adopted at the meeting. "We want to make the process of German unification part of the all-European process" he said. "We want it to be implemented in the context of the integration of the European Community, in the context of the development of East-West partnership, in the name of stability, and in the context of building the common European home and creating a peaceful order throughout Europe.... We respect the rights and duties of the four powers with respect to the whole of Germany," the West German minister added. "The talks which the two German states are going to hold on the unification question will not take place behind the four powers' backs."

The second major feature of the Ottawa meeting was the reaching of a Soviet-U.S. accord on certain aspects of the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. Under this accord the number of Soviet and U.S. troops in the central European zone will be cut to 195,000 per side. The Americans, in addition, will have the right to station a further 30,000 military servicemen in peripheral countries, notably Britain. As the meeting's communique stresses, the participating ministers welcomed this accord. In the words of Canadian External Affairs Secretary C.J. Clark, it will remove one of the most serious obstacles to an agreement on the reduction of conventional types of armed forces in Europe.

All 23 ministers expressed in the communique the conviction that the Vienna talks aimed at elaborating an agreement should proceed as actively as possible. And even though the communique itself makes no mention of when specifically such an agreement should be expected, behind the scenes people named this fall as a target date, in other words the expected date of the convocation of a conference of the heads of state and government of the countries party to the Helsinki accords. It is also proposed that at that conference a document will be signed on the reduction of armed forces in Europe in order, as many participants in the Ottawa meeting said, to allow an immediate start on talks which would produce the agreement already conditionally dubbed "Vienna-2," that is, an agreement on the even deeper demilitarization of Europe. As the Spanish foreign minister noted, "The disarmament process should at least keep pace with political events."

And, finally, the problem of "open skies," which was officially the reason why the two military-political alliances' foreign ministers met in the Canadian capital. In the words of conference vice president Horn, foreign minister of Hungary, the treaty on the "open skies" is meant to be signed next 12 May in Budapest. The minister acknowledged that the achievement of that target is beset with difficulties due to the failure of the sides' positions to coincide on particular aspects of the "open skies" problem. But not a single minister—either in public speeches or private briefings—expressed doubt that those difficulties could be overcome in time.

### Warsaw Pact Members Comment

*LD1402134190 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa February 14 TASS - By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets:

The Warsaw Treaty nations have outlined their joint stand on the "open skies" idea on Tuesday at the Ottawa conference currently discussing this problem.

The conference, attended by all members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, is expected to reach agreement on overflights of each other's territories to monitor military activities.

The Warsaw Treaty "Basic Principles of an 'Open Sky' Agreement" were submitted by the Hungarian delegation. The document points out that Warsaw Treaty members attach great importance to the problem of going over from individual confidence-building measures and openness in international affairs in general and in the military domain in particular to a broad policy fitting into the overall system of international security. Such a system is regarded as an important factor for strengthening confidence and predictability, as well as a component part of progress towards disarmament.

The Warsaw Treaty nations believe that an "open skies" regime should be all-embracing and not selective. Such a regime could become part and parcel of a global confidence-building system and could lower the risk of war. The system should cover not only the sky, but also the earth, the seas, the oceans and even outer space. The Warsaw Treaty believes that observation flights should be carried out on a reciprocal basis and all the sides concerned should have equal access to information.

Although only states affiliated to the two blocs are so far covered by the projected agreement, other nations will also be able to join it freely. Flights must be allowed over all the territories belonging to members of the two blocs. States that have military bases on foreign territories are recommended to start talks with third countries concerned in order to get their consent to air checks.

From the point of view of the Warsaw Treaty, the best way would be to form a joint fleet of observation planes. They could be piloted by mixed crews and could carry mixed teams of observers. The best solution would be to install common equipment or appliances on such aircraft so that their technical performance would be identical.

Ideas on flight procedures were also submitted to the conference. Thus, it was suggested that applications for flights should be submitted at least 24 hours before a plane takes off from its territory.

The Warsaw Treaty nations adhere to the view that there should be minimal restrictions on observation flights. The conference should discuss problems linked with overflying areas of risk. This refers, in particular, to missile launching sites and corridors assigned for tests. Special rules should be worked out for such facilities as nuclear power plants, large chemical factories, etc.

The Warsaw Treaty document, submitted to the conference, just as the "report on fundamental elements", agreed upon by NATO nations, will provide the basis for Ottawa deliberations during the next two weeks. Taking part in them will be groups of experts from all the 23 member nations of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

### NATO's Woerner Welcomes Ottawa Agreement

*LD1402224890 Moscow TASS in English 2210 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Brussels February 15 TASS—NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner expressed in a statement on Wednesday his satisfaction in connection with the achievement of an agreement in Ottawa on the levels of Soviet and U.S. armed forces in Europe beyond the Soviet Union's Western borders.

Woerner called the agreement a new step facilitating the conclusion of an agreement on conventional armed forces and armaments already this year.

### First Round of Trade Talks With U.S. Closes

*LD1402152190 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Washington February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Both Soviet and American participants in the first round of the Soviet-U.S. trade talks, which ended here on Tuesday, were satisfied with the discussion, which is expected to end differences in bilateral trade relations and normalise and expand commercial exchanges.

The major aim of the talks is to elaborate a new trade agreement. The agreement will be signed next June at a Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington.

The Soviet and American experts expressed their assurance that the agreement will be prepared by the time of the Washington summit.

Deputy presidential representative and head of the U.S. delegation to the talks, Julius Katz said he did not doubt the experts' ability to fulfil this task. They had not found anything that could hamper the negotiations.

"We believe that the talks went well," said head of the Soviet delegation and Soviet Deputy Minister of foreign economic relations Yuriy Chumakov. "At least, each side knows what to expect from the other."

Chumakov stressed that this round could have seen great progress if the U.S. delegation had submitted a draft agreement as the Soviet delegation did.

During this round the sides aimed to clarify their positions on the content of the new agreement.

Katz said that after another round in late February the negotiations will continue on March 20 in Vienna.

The new agreement will pave the way towards granting the Soviet Union most favoured nation status and lifting tariffs on Soviet exports to the United States. It will also enable U.S. companies to expand their trade and commercial activities on the Soviet market.

Until now annual mutual goods turnover has amounted to about five billion U.S. dollars, according to U.S. estimates. This is less than one-third of Sino-American trade. U.S. imports to the Soviet Union are estimated at four billion dollars and the Soviet delivery to the U.S. is only 700 million dollars.

## International Seminar Urges Naval Arms Reduction

*LD1402164490 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—A call to debate about lowering naval armaments on seas and oceans has been made by a seminar that ended in Moscow.

The results of the international seminar on problems in the limitation of naval armaments and the reduction of naval activity on the world's oceans were summed up at a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Centre today.

The briefing was addressed by members of the organising committee of the forum, in which prominent statesmen and public figures, parliamentarians and the military took part.

Retired major-general of military justice Pyotr Barabolya, chairman of the public commission "Peace to the Oceans", said the seminar concentrated on three important problems: the limitation of naval armaments race, the reduction of naval activity on the world's oceans, and the widening of confidence-building measures in the naval area.

Members of the organising committee emphasised that the seminar's final document proposes to link any talks on naval armaments to the question of naval bases on foreign lands. They emphasised that a united nations naval force should be formed.

They noted that there is a need to adopt defensive naval doctines and said that government and non-government organisations should work out effective technical measures to verify agreements on naval armaments.

It was noted at the briefing that a world centre to coordinate the problems in the limitation of naval armaments should be set up and a world conference on naval armaments convened.

## Asaturov on Troop Withdrawals From CSSR

*LD1302232890 Moscow International Service in Czech 1800 GMT 12 Feb 90*

[Eduard Asaturov commentary]

[Text] A Soviet Government statement was published in the central press today about the willingness of the USSR to withdraw its troops from the countries of the Warsaw Pact. It says, among other things, that the USSR has already opened talks with Czechoslovakia and Hungary about withdrawal of its troops from these countries. We asked our military commentator, Colonel Eduard Asaturov, to comment on the preliminary results of the second round of talks in Moscow:

The official agreement about withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia has so far not been signed, Eduard Asaturov said. The very fact of having such talks, however, is witness to the fact that the Soviet Government has accepted a decision about it. A special joint working group is preparing the text of the agreement. Another one is discussing military and technical problems. The Czechoslovak delegation has received detailed information about the central group of troops, including the tonnage of the loads which are to be withdrawn. However, the question as to when the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia should end remains open. There are various views on this.

I cannot agree with those who demand that this happens within the next few hours, literally tomorrow, although some people may find their arguments quite valid, Eduard Asaturov continues. Every Soviet military unit is truly prepared, after being alerted to quickly leave their place of permanent deployment and to go in the given direction. This will not require much time. They will take with them only what is necessary for the fulfillment of military tasks.

But is it at all necessary at the moment to declare a general alert for [words indistinct] of the central group of Soviet troops? What will happen if thousands of units of the Soviet military technology, including tanks, (?without) sufficient preparation, all at the same time, start moving along Czechoslovak roads toward the East? What is to be done with the 16,000 families of the Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia, including their 20,000 children? Some could say that, in essence, they could be put, within a relatively short space of time, into trains or planes and evacuated to the USSR. And where will they live? The majority of these families do not have a permanent home in the USSR. And children have to go to school, not to mention the deployment of soldiers and military technology.

You will, no doubt, agree that such extreme measures are not necessary at the moment. Everything has to be done sensibly, in a humane fashion, without unnecessary sacrifices and suffering. Thus, if we take all this into account, what are the realistic terms for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia?

The Czechoslovak delegation mentioned the end of the current year at the talks in Moscow, Eduard Asaturov continues. According to preliminary Soviet calculations, only 60 percent of troops can be withdrawn. The rest can be withdrawn in 1991. The withdrawal of Soviet troops can be safeguarded predominantly by a railway at the border crossing in Cop. In order not to disturb the normal rythm of freight along the railway it is possible to add at most just four military trains daily. While doing so, one must not forget that at the same time military trains from Hungary will be passing through Cop. This means that at most, two military trains will be departing from Czechoslovakia.

This much, in brief, are the points of departure for the calculations of Soviet experts. At the same time one must not forget the entire complex of questions of material and property character. They are inevitable, in connection with the coming handing over to the Czechoslovak side of the military townlets, test grounds, and other military objects which at one time were at the disposal of the Soviet troops.

A decision was adopted at the Moscow talks that in the near future preparation of such agreement is to be started. It is likely to be completed only after the signing of an official agreement about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory.

The process of withdrawing Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is not quite as simple as it looks. It undoubtedly needs time and and much thought. Naturally, it is necessary for both sides to take into consideration Czechoslovak and USSR interests. After all, it is the fate of thousands and thousands of people that is at stake. We would not like to see them a victim of political errors.

## Chemical Weapons Destruction Considered

*PM1502101990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by Professor I.B. Yevstafyev; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction: "Where and How To Destroy Chemical Weapons; Radius of Safety"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is assuming commitments to destroy part of its chemical weapons. How ready are we for this—technically, organizationally, and psychologically? Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor I.B. Yevstafyev, a military chemist, considers this.

It seems that in its entire history our country has never had as many problems as now, on the frontier of the nineties. But they include one about which I should like to make a special mention—ecology. V.I. Vernadskiy noted that with the emergence on our planet of a being with the gift of reason there began the transition of the biosphere to the stage of the noosphere as the result of man's deliberate regulation of the entire system of biosphere processes ("noos" means reason). The teaching on the noosphere is not only a scientific position and theory, it is also a warning to mankind. Inasmuch as it is primarily mankind which determines the further course of the development of the biosphere and is itself a part of it and cannot exist outside it, society should assume responsibility for all subsequent evolution of the biosphere.

At the joining of previously formed spheres of knowledge, a new sphere of knowledge is formed—social ecology, a synthesis of the social, natural, and technical sciences.

Our country is also beginning to comprehend the laws of social ecology in practice. In many regions public action against the construction of new nuclear electric power stations, new plants, oil storage facilities, and TETS's [heat and electric power stations] has become a sociopolitical movement with a most resolute radical mood. The classic scheme of modern "ecological wars" in the eyes of many people looks like this: on one side, a department defending selfish interests and concerned only for its own benefit while failing to notice people's needs and interests; on the other—people who have grown tired of problems, of the smoke from chimneys and the industrial waste in the rivers.... On the public's side is the press and also the local party and soviet organs. In the "department-public" conflict victory (sometimes real, sometimes Pyrrhic) is as a rule now on the side of the public even in those cases when it has no convincing arguments yet the actual scheme of confrontation is far removed from that depicted above.

It is under these conditions that the inhabitants of some parts of the country have been drawn into the struggle against the siting of facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons here. As most people see it, these weapons are something exceptionally mysterious and extremely dangerous. In general this reaction can be understood. Questions of the economy, psychology, ecology, and politics have been interwoven in this problem, which must be thoroughly investigated.

First—about the status of chemical weapons in international law. The 17 June 1925 Geneva protocol banned "the use in war of noxious and poison or other similar gases or of any liquids, substances, and processes." At the same time it does not provide for any restrictions on the development of these weapons or their stockpiling by any country. On 5 April 1928 V. Dolgov, USSR ambassador in Paris, in handing over for keeping the certificates on the ratification of the Geneva protocol by the USSR Central Executive Committee, made two stipulations, whose essence comes down to the following: 1) The protocol commits the USSR Government only with regard to the states which have signed and ratified it. 2) The protocol ceases to be binding for the USSR Government with regard to any state whose armed forces and formal or de facto allies take no account of the ban which comprises the subject matter of this protocol.

By these stipulations the USSR retained the right to a retaliatory strike if we were to become the victim of chemical aggression. The majority of other countries acted in the same way. There are now about 120 states which are signatories to the Geneva protocol. Its effectiveness and unshakability were affirmed yet again by the 1989 Paris international conference, in which delegations from 146 countries took part.

It is hardly appropriate now to discuss the decisions to continue the production of chemical weapons in our country in the postwar period. These decisions were taken in a completely different world sociopolitical situation from the one that exists now. But we must not forget that the link between the times is indissoluble and that our present in that sense is nothing other than an expression of the past. The Geneva talks on banning chemical weapons became possible only because in the course of the seventies and eighties we achieved parity with the United States in the military chemical field.

Our stocks of toxins are now less than 50,000 tonnes. The USSR Defense Ministry has ensured their storage with all necessary safety measures. In the entire postwar period neither during the storage of chemical weapons nor during their transportation have we had a single incident which could have led to any adverse consequences for the population. As a rule the inhabitants of nearby population centers did not know and do not know that toxins are stored near them. Of course, as the time they are stored increases, the volume of necessary precautionary measures increases, including the modernization of storehouses, the development and installation of improved systems of safety monitoring, the destruction of dangerous and useless models, and the stepping up of security.

But chemical weapons, like any others, cannot be stored forever. The span of toxins' technical usefulness comes to an end, the aircraft delivery vehicles and artillery systems for which chemical bombs and shells were once developed become obsolete and are taken out of service, the likelihood of accidents as a result of the violation of the impermeability of tanks at depots increases.

The United States, while intending to destroy all its obsolete chemical weapons stocks, at the same time plans to replace them with a new generation—binary chemical weapons. During the Congressional hearings in 1988 Thomas Welch, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense, formulated policy in the chemical weapons field as follows: "The main task of the U.S. armed forces is to ensure a policy of deterrence. The aim of this policy is to keep the enemy from even thinking of the possibility of using chemical weapons against the U.S. Army. The U.S. Armed Forces must retain the potential to deliver a retaliatory strike."

At the same time in the changed political situation in the world chemical safety can also be ensured by a different means—concluding an international agreement on the banning of the development and production of chemical weapons and the complete destruction of stocks and the production base for their creation. For several decades now representatives of 40 states have been drafting such a convention in Geneva. If a convention is elaborated, the question of its ratification will come up for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet. But the point is that the convention which is being drafted provides for a very stringent schedule for the destruction of chemical weapons: beginning no later than a year after the convention enters into force and ending within the next nine years. Thus, the decisions on the country's preparation for the further convention on the banning of chemical weapons should be taken right now.

Let's turn to ways of resolving this problem in the United States. Until the late sixties and early seventies the U.S. Army destroyed its unusable stocks of chemical weapons mainly by submerging them in the ocean. But a routine submersion planned in 1969 generated keen public protests because of possible environmental pollution and the potential danger during these munitions' transportation across U.S. territory. Following army instructions, the National Academy of Sciences comprehensively studied the problem and recommended that stationary facilities be created ensuring the necessary safety requirements and, most importantly, ruling out pollution. The U.S. Congress took the decision to destroy obsolete stocks of chemical weapons in late 1985 by a special law under which responsibility for this program was placed on the Department of Defense. In elaborating the program several options were examined. One was chosen—the destruction of chemical weapons directly at their storage sites.

The program for the destruction of chemical weapons stocks was examined in March 1988 in a U.S. Congress house subcommittee (the program of chemical rearmament was examined at the same time, incidentally). Its main stages are as follows: An experimental installation for rehearsing the process for destroying toxins by the combustion method is being created on Johnston island in the Pacific. It was planned to begin the 16-month operational [ekspluatatsionnyye] tests using real chemical munitions in August 1989. After that it is planned to complete work on technological equipment on a full-scale device installed in Tooele (Utah). Another two years will be needed to construct it and operation was planned to start for 1993. U.S. Congress proposals to earmark appropriations for the creation of devices for the destruction of chemical weapons in other storage sites (Anniston, Pine Bluff, Umatilla, Oregon, Newport, Pueblo) after a comprehensive analysis of the results of full-scale operational tests in Tooele.... As of late 1989 the program's implementation has been delayed more than six months.

It must be noted that the facility on Johnston atoll and the combustion method used there are being increasingly criticized as failing to ensure the proper level of safety. The "technological uncertainties" revealed by Congress specialists apply both to the three main furnaces already ready for operation and the air cleaning installations. In particular the public organization Greenpeace warns of the possibility of the formation of highly toxic chemicals as a result of the combustion of organic and chlorine-containing substances.

The United States' total expenditure on the destruction program in 1990 were $2 billion, for 1991-1995 it is planned to earmark nearly $1 billion more. In brief, in three to four years the United States will be technically ready to destroy obsolete chemical weapons stocks and consequently will be able to assume the relevant commitments under the convention.

But in our country there are so far no facilities for destroying chemical weapons. Until it was closed less than 50 million rubles [R] had been spent on the creation of the plant in Chapayevsk that is 40 times less than on the similar program in the United States. This facility, whose total planned cost was about R100 million, working 100 days a year with a capacity of 1-5 tonnes of toxins a day, would have destroyed all our stocks in.... 100-200 years. So let's assess what the cost should be of plants capable of destroying our entire stock of chemical weapons in the nine years allocated by the convention. At the Canberra conference in September 1989 it was announced that, according to a preliminary assessment, the USSR's expenditure on the destruction of chemical weapons in accordance with the demands of the future convention, would total billions of dollars. We lag 5-10 years behind the United States.

Is it possible to eliminate the lag? Undoubtedly. We have basically developed the technologies for the destruction of toxins. We merely need the funds for the construction and operation of the plants. Decisions are needed on their siting, the schedules for their creation, and the features of their operation.

The experience of creating the first facility in the Chapayevsk region has shown that we will not succeed in resolving this problem by shifting it onto several ministries and departments. It is necessary to adopt state decisions. It is a case of a special targeted program and a special procedure for financing it outside the budget appropriations of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, the USSR Defense Ministry, or any other ministry and department. This program will be created and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

But it may turn out that during its elaboration it is not technical or economic problems which are advanced to the fore but psychological problems connected with the deployment of facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons on the country's territory. Complex questions of this kind arose for world science long ago. One can cite the practice of the International Atomic Energy Agency, existing studies of the basing of chemical production facilities and the storage and transportation of combustible and toxic substances. But until now it is only expenditure on construction, the production of output, transport, and so forth which have served as the criteria of effectiveness in the majority of mathematical models for the optimum deployment of industrial projects. Thus, many works by atomic energy specialists since Chernobyl note, for instance, that in choosing regions for the deployment of an AES [nuclear electric power station] it is in fact only power engineering factors and the possibility of carrying out engineering and technical work which are considered.

The concepts of the radius of ecological safety and the radius of accident safety exist. The former is the distance from the facility beyond which there is no adverse effect on the environment during the facility's civilian functioning. Thus, for many facilities the radius of ecological safety is virtually nil. But there is also the radius of accident safety. It determines the necessary distance from the facility when considering any projected accident.

Experience of creating dangerous production facilities shows that there is also a certain radius of psychological safety, which for the majority of the country's regions is one or two orders of magnitude greater than the radius of accident safety and may be hundreds of kilometers. It is a case of a distance from a potentially dangerous project (for instance, a petrochemical combine, AES, plant for the destruction of chemical weapons, and so forth) beyond which the population does not connect their state of health, safety, or the ecological cleanness of the terrain with this production facility.

Sociological studies show that the perception of safety of various kinds depends substantially not only on the possible gravity of the consequences but also on how voluntarily a person accepts this danger. I shall cite the following simple figure: Inasmuch as an automobile provides a high level of convenience to the owner, the possibility of death or injury connected with its use is usually ignored. On the other hand, the risk connected with the use of nuclear power emerges to the fore in people's awareness, giving rise to demands that AES's be totally abandoned. That is also the attitude toward petrochemical enterprises. The public as a rule is only feebly aware of the vital need for these sectors of industry.

Should we be surprised that in the light of these examples facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons look even more unacceptable since people suppose that such plants give them nothing at all. I say this to show that the difference in assessing a voluntarily accepted danger (driving a car) and a danger imposed by coercion (the destruction of chemical weapons) is a reality which must be considered.

But it follows from this that the radius of psychological safety depends not only on the real ecological and accident safety of the facility but also on the degree of competence of the surrounding population and the level to which they are informed. That is why glasnost is needed in creating and operating such plants. Let the public take part in selecting the sites and in carrying out independent technological and ecological studies involving authoritative scientists. When people know what will be where, when they understand how important the plant for the destruction of obsolete chemical weapons is for themselves, the radius of psychological safety will be reduced to the limits of real ecological and accident safety.

In conclusion I shall say that questions of creating facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons in our country are politically, socially, and technically complex. A collective of scientists and specialists of various kinds has been created to prepare for their examination in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The collective is headed by S.V. Petrov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry chemical troops. During the research it is proposed to develop a special methodology for justifying possible sites for facilities for the destruction of chemical weapons which will take fuller account than existing methodologies of sociopolitical, ecological, psychological, demographic, and economic criteria.

## TASS Reports on Warsaw Treaty Meeting 14 Feb

### CSCE, Europe Discussed

*LD1402135990 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—At a session of the multilateral current information group on Tuesday and Wednesday, Warsaw Treaty representatives discussed CSCE process progress, including the forming of new common European structures, the state and future of relations of allied nations with West European integrational organisations, and other important foreign policy issues.

### Chiefs Meet in Sofia

*LD1402215290 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Sofia February 14 TASS—Representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries' chiefs of staff held a working meeting in Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, today to discuss the implementation of provisions of the Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

The discussion was held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding on matters under discussion.

## Hungary's Medgyessy Chairs CEMA Session

*LD1102204990 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, February 11 (MTI)—The special committee set up during the CMEA's [CEMA] 45th session held its first session in Moscow. Its mission is to work out proposals for the renewal of the system of mutual economic assistance.

The session of the committee was chaired by Peter Medgyessy, Hungarian deputy prime minister and chairman of the CMEA's Executive Committee. On the Hungarian side, the session was attended by Erno Kemenes, secretary of state and president of the National Planning Office, and Imre Dunai, secretary of state for trade.

The main item on the session's agenda was the organization of the committee's activity, which should fulfill its mission by late April, MTI's Moscow correspondent was told by Peter Medgyessy.

This time, Hungary—supported by several partners—said each country should prepare its own proposal, and one of the countries should make a unified plan to designate a possible direction in each question, but not [as received] with a compromise in mind that all the participants could accept. This proposal could then be subjected to a genuine debate. This motion was finally accepted by the participants.

Erno Kemenes was appointed by the representatives of the member states to head the special committee. A team was set up within the committee to be headed by the deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia in charge of working out the unified plan.

The committee should seek the answers to questions including, whether the CMEA should be maintained, and if yes, what should its profile be like, what the organization's statutes should include, and finally, what its goals should be, said Mr. Medgyessy, who called the Sunday session successful.

## Athens Session Starts 'Democratization' Process

*PM1402162390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent A. Nikolayev dispatch: "Meeting the Challenge of the Times"]

[Text] Athens—A World Peace Council [WPC] session has completed its work in Athens. A session which was frankly described as "critical" by many participants from the very beginning.

Indeed, the work in which delegates from more than 100 countries took part was far from ordinary. The mortifying "unanimity" which used to reign at previous sessions is being replaced—although not without a clash (which can be very acute at times) between different points of view—by an clearly strengthening awareness that it is no longer possible to work in the old way. Times have changed.

"The decisions made in Athens are actually meant to meet the challenge of the times," Evangelos Makheras, representative of Greece and newly elected WPC president, emphasized. The main point is the new conceptual view of security which, in today's interconnected and interdependent world, involves not only foreign policy but also economic, social, ecological, humanitarian, and other aspects.

The center of gravity of the WPC's entire activity is shifting "downward," in other words to the work of regional and national committees. Correspondingly radical changes have been effected in the WPC's structure in favor of simplification and decentralization. Coordination and information functions, together with the provision of practical assistance to national movements, are coming to the forefront of its activity. A system of self-financing and collection of membership dues is being introduced. Incidentally, the Athens session was the first to be paid for mainly by participants rather than by the WPC. A collective presidency with annual rotation is being introduced.

According to the common appraisal, a significant step has been taken in the direction of democratization and ideologization of the WPC's activity with due consideration for the interests of national movements and the expansion of the sociopolitical base.

"Changes in the rules are not a goal in themselves for us, and therefore we perceive them as being basically experimental," Genrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace Presidium, emphasized. "In our opinion, the main point is to give specific content to the WPC's activity, making it possible to generate interest among new partners and to create prerequisites for cooperation with other movements and political and social forces. The Athens session offers a good opportunity to do this."

## TASS Reports on Gerasimov's 14 Feb Briefing

### Troops Reduction

*LD1402151690 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker have agreed in Ottawa to reduce both Soviet and American troops in Central Europe to 195,000, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, announced at a briefing today.

For the United States, central Europe includes West Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, and for the Soviet Union—the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, he added.

According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, "This agreement will improve the situation at the Vienna talks and will pave the way to concluding an agreement there."

### Upcoming Havel Visit

*LD1402163390 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The Soviet leadership attaches much importance to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's forthcoming visit to the USSR which will start on February 26, Gennadiy Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said at a briefing here today. He stressed that it would be the new Czechoslovak leader's first visit to the USSR.

When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meets Vaclav Havel in Moscow, they will discuss the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations in view of changes taking place in both countries and international issues.

Questions connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia will obviously be on the agenda of the meeting, Gerasimov pointed out. He recalled that two rounds of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on this issue had already been held and said that the discussion of details connected with the troop withdrawal was continuing at the expert level in Prague.

Gorbachev sent a personal message to Havel about this issue, Gerasimov said.

The Soviet Union hopes that during the talks, mutually acceptable agreements will be reached on the date and terms of a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. This will permit the USSR to tackle, systematically, the complicated military-technical and social problems that will emerge in this process.

### German Unification

*LD1402174690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—"As a stage in the negotiations process that must decide questions connected with the two German states moving toward one another, and the future of these states," was how Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, assessed the results of the meeting between Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Helmut Kohl, FRG federal chancellor, at a briefing today.

Replying to journalists' questions, he recalled that the USSR's position is that "this question must be decided by the German people themselves, and that includes the speed and the timetable" of this process.

The USSR considers the proposals presented by the GDR—a plan that envisages stage-by-stage advancement on questions of mutual relations between the two German states and within the framework of the general European process—"the most rational and correct approach," Gennadiy Gerasimov noted. "This opinion," he said, "is well-known to the FRG Government."

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman added that during the international "Open Skies" conference in Ottawa, meetings were held between the foreign ministers of the FRG and the GDR, as well as the four great powers: the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France. They reached an agreement that regular consultations will be held at various levels connected with the unification process.

### Export Controls

*LD1402181390 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Businessmen in Western countries, also in member countries of the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls (COCOM), have recently been demanding a revision of restrictions on the supply of the latest technologies to East European countries. These demands reflect the normalisation of international relations, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said that the Soviet Union has declared more than once that it is necessary to remove artificial obstacles to the development and intensification of East-West commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation. Barriers and curbs interfering with the expansion of the Soviet Union's ties with Western countries, primarily COCOM lists, should be eliminated.

Gerasimov noted that the United States, in principle, consented to the lessening or elimination of restrictive lists. The U.S.. makes a revision of COCOM activity conditional upon the creation of a mechanism to check on the actual uses of equipment sold to East European countries, in order to guarantee that it is not used for military purposes.

"The United States' concern is understandable, although we believe that in the present warming of the international climate it is an anachronism," the spokesman said.

Gerasimov pointed to a statement that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made during his visit to Belgium in December 1989. In that statement Shevardnadze emphasised that if COCOM lists are eliminated, the Soviet Union will admit inspectors to its territory to clear any suspicions that the equipment is being used for military purposes.

The achievement and implementation of arrangements registered in the latest military agreements show the possibility of successful verification, taking into consideration the interests and security of the sides, the spokesman said.

Gerasimov also dwelt on the proposal made by Deputy Atkinson of Great Britain at the December session of the Western European Union (WEU) assembly.

Basically, Atkinson proposed that at the forthcoming conference on economic cooperation in Europe, to open on March 19 in Bonn, agreement should be reached on setting up a group of experts on this matter. Such a proposal could be accepted, Gerasimov said.

## U.S. Spokesman Cited on Bush-Woerner Talks

*PM1502101790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Change Imminent. On the Question of NATO's New Role"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Feb—The meeting between U.S. President George Bush and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner has ended.

White House spokesman J. Herrick announced that during the talks it was agreed that "NATO, in addition to its job of maintaining defense, would assume a new political role, helping to direct Western policy in relation to the burgeoning democratic regimes in East Europe, coordinating talks on arms control and its implementation, and elaborating Western countries' policy on regional and transnational questions."

The White House spokesman pointed out that the U.S. President and the NATO secretary general welcomed the results of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl's talks in Moscow and "expressed satisfaction in connection with the West German government's statement that a united Germany would remain a member of the North Atlantic alliance." Addressing a press conference before leaving the United States, Woerner said: "Personally, I would like a united Germany to remain a member of NATO. But, of course, we must consider the Soviet Union's legitimate security interests. We can and must find a solution that would guarantee these interests."

## Falin Stresses Germany's International Commitments

*AU1402131590 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Klaus Emmerich report from Strasbourg]

[Excerpts] Today a former president, three former heads of government, prominent politicians from all parties, and EC Commission President Delors held a thorough, balanced, and concrete debate on the German-German problem in the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Result: Yes to the Germans' self-determination, but not without regard to existing commitments and treaties. [passage omitted]

The delegation of the Supreme Soviet to the European Parliament was headed by former Soviet ambassador to Bonn, Falin, who made it absolutely clear that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to its interests and does not want the more than 25 million Russians to have died in vain, as he repeatedly stated in front of the parliamentarians.

At the same time, however, Falin has advanced confidence to the Germans in the FRG and the GDR by stating to the press:

[Begin Falin recording] I want to add that the Soviet Union does not object to mutual negotiations and concepts on complex questions, such as a currency union and other things, and their implementation by the two German states. But one has to be careful that the international commitments are not disregarded in this process. [end recording]

However, the green light for the Germans as regards reunificiation, unification, and a union of a greater Germany in West Europe and, in addition, in the whole of Europe has been very clear in the EC Parliament.

## U.S. Wants German Unity To Maintain Role

*PM1402103190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Single Edition p 5*

[T. Borisov article: "U.S. Generals on a United Germany: According to Whose Scenario?"]

[Text] I don't know whether it can be explained as a simple accident, but one U.S. general has let the cat out of the bag. "Our primary task," he said, "is to get the Soviets out of East German territory without having to leave West Germany." William Odom, who until recently headed the U.S. National Security Agency, demonstrated this truly unexpected approach to ensuring stability and security in Europe.

His statements, cited by the British SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, could be regarded as a carelessly expressed personal opinion. As ill-luck would have it, they have a lot in common with the statements of another four-star U.S. general—Alexander Haig, former commander in chief of NATO forces in Europe and former U.S. Secretary of State. And this cannot fail to make one think about the existence of a certain tendency in the disposition of some U.S. politicians.

The Warsaw Pact is a source of instability which embodies Soviet domination of the region, we read in an article by Haig published in THE NEW YORK TIMES. He does not presume to dispute the fact that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from socialist countries reduces the threat of a "Red invasion" of West Europe. But at the same time it is as though he is demonstrating "back-to-front logic": Haig describes the need to wind down NATO as the threat of a Soviet invasion lessens as "a myth." "It is NATO much more than the Helsinki process," he adds, "that provides the strong muscles which maintain European security."

U.S. official spokesmen make the claim of U.S. noninterference in the process of unification of the two Germanies and acknowledge that it must occur gradually and without upsetting the balance which has taken shape in Europe. In reality—for egotistical reasons—they are interested in accelerating this process, and moreover on their own terms. The Americans are seriously concerned about the growing political and economic cohesion of the European Community, seeing it as a threat to their interests. But if Bonn in its desire for a most speedy unification directs its efforts to German integration as opposed to European integration, this will only serve Washington's purpose, which is counting in this case on playing on the Europeans' contradictions.

In order to maintain their influence in the Old World, the Americans are counting on the Atlantic alliance—a time-tested instrument of control over the West European countries. The FRG's armed forces are incorporated in the military structures of the bloc and are subordinate to the supreme commander in chief of the NATO forces in Europe—read, directly to the Americans. Naturally, the United States regards it as unthinkable for the FRG to leave NATO in the unification process. What is more, it may be assumed that there are far-reaching plans to add new members to the Atlantic alliance—some of the East European countries.

"The creation of a new Europe without U.S. participation would mean a repeat of past mistakes," A. Haig claims. Without a doubt. But there is also no question that the development of events in Europe according to the U.S. generals' scenarios is fraught with the risk of instability emerging in the political arena and could lead to new mistakes, with much more serious consequences.

## GDR 'Ultimate Loser' in Currency Ties

*PM1402134190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own Correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "Anticipating Hard Times"]

[Text] Berlin—The photoreportage which appeared in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, I think, caused amazement and confusion among its readers. There has never been anything like it: The reporter pictured a waiting line of unemployed people at the doors of the labor department—the equivalent of what the West calls the labor exchange....

In the GDR it is usually said that there are around 50,000 officially registered unemployed. This figure is made up of three categories of people: former staffers of the disbanded Ministry of State Security, redundant party apparatus workers, and the first casualties, as it were, of the economic reform which is only just beginning.

I am not about to examine the reasons which led to the economic crisis in the GDR. Last year economic growth in the GDR slowed down. The situation is serious. The people most worried are the economists and politicians here, although concern is being expressed in Bonn, too. Sober-minded people in the FRG understand that the unification of Germany—especially if carried out rapidly, as demanded by the vociferous participants in the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig—will cost the West German exchequer dear. That is why the FRG is looking for formulas which, as far as possible, would make that process less superimposed.

This week Chancellor Kohl proposed to Berlin that talks begin immediately on the creation of a currency union. What does that involve? It is proposed to introduce the FRG mark [DM] in the GDR as a means of payment right away. It is true that Kaminsky and Poehl, the presidents of the leading GDR and FRG banks, have opposed any hasty action. First, in their opinion, it is necessary to create a more efficient economic system in the GDR and strengthen the purchasing power of the mark [M]. And in so doing, others say, postpone the creation of a currency pool for a certain time.

In the opinion of certain experts in the GDR the "currency-political program" proposed during the recent 20th world economic forum in Davos, Switzerland, is more realistic. It has been discussed by representatives of the FRG and the GDR, among them Mayor Berghofer of Leipzig. The essence of the program is that the mark would be exchanged for the Deutsche mark at a fixed rate and that certain privileges would be granted at the same time to pensioners and those on low incomes. A reasonable rate of 1 to 4 has been suggested with a certain sum, for example, M1,000, which could be exchanged at the rate of 1 for 1. The FRG Bundesbank will take the lead here. As a result the GDR will be economically "attached" to the FRG—and, in the opinion of the program's authors, an unprecedented economic upsurge will begin in the GDR, a second German economic miracle, as it were. There is an essential condition here: first, the introduction of free, that is, market prices, and second, the sale of state property, the housing stock, and land to private entrepreneurs.

This was the theme of a speech by Christa Luft, Council of Ministers deputy chairman for the economy, at a recent roundtable meeting. She weighed up all the pros and cons. Yes, she said, such an approach will make it possible quite quickly to overcome the difficulties in the population's supply, improve the opportunities for travel from the GDR to the FRG, and increase enterprises' opportunities for cooperative ties with the West. The "discrepancy in wages here and there" will be a deterrent, as will the comparatively low labor productivity "here." Bank deposit holders will lose out, and there will be a reassessment of fixed assets and real estate. The ultimate loser will be the GDR. The winners will be the West German dealers dreaming of making a fortune from the selling off of the local economy.

H. Modrow's government has not finally determined its attitude to the proposed formulas for a currency union. It is expected that this will happen on Thursday at a session of the cabinet of ministers. The latest proposals received from Bonn on Wednesday are surely the most harsh: that there should be, as it were, a complete inventory of the GDR economy monitored by the Bundesbank. The bank should be authorized to play a leading role in the financial union that is being created, and at the same time the bulk of the GDR economy should switch to new forms of economic management, that is, it should be transferred into private hands. Ultimately, that would mean the GDR's surrender of part of its own sovereignty.

Anticipating hard times, the trade unions here are preparing for battle. They have already put a package of demands on the government table, among them the following: During the implementation of the economic reform there must be guarantees of the social rights of working people and the preservation of the people's property, subsidies must be equalized, and jobs must be guaranteed with the import of capital.

It is difficult now to say how one will be combined with the other—the trade unions' demand with the forthcoming breakup of the GDR's old financial and economic system and its transfer to a new track. People here realize that changes are inevitable.

## United States & Canada

### TASS Reports on Shevardnadze's Visit to Canada

#### Talks Held With Mulroney

*LD1402221590 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa February 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets:

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze began his official visit to Canada on Wednesday by meeting Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at his office in the Parliament Building.

Speaking to reporters before the meeting, Mulroney described the present state of Canadian-Soviet relations as positive.

After the meeting, the Soviet foreign minister told reporters that he and Mulroney discussed a wide range of issues, including the situation in Europe and the world and results of major talks held on the eve of the Open Skies Conference.

"We both believe that these results are valuable both as regards to open skies and other issues," Shevardnadze said. In this connection he mentioned the agreement on Soviet and U.S. troop levels in Europe.

Shevardnadze said he and Mulroney widely discussed Soviet-Canadian relations and determined priority spheres for their further development.

He said the two countries plan to strengthen their cooperation and develop mutual advantageous economic and technical relations.

The Soviet minister expressed confidence that the Soviet Union and Canada will continue cooperation on the international scene in the interests of peace, especially with a view to reducing military spending. He said such cooperation meets the interests of both countries.

Shevardnadze also spoke about prospects for Soviet-Canadian cooperation in the north. He said this was a priority sphere in which the countries have common interests. Soviet and Canadian experts will deliver reports on this issue during the Ottawa talks.

Asked why his meeting with Mulroney lasted longer than planned, Shevardnadze said: "We had a very interesting, pithy and frank discussion."

Mulroney told reporters the two sides made progress in all areas of relations. He said he was encouraged by such a development.

Then Shevardnadze began talks with Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark.

#### German Reunification Discussed

*LD1502073590 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Ottawa February 15 TASS—Visiting Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Canadian counterpart Joseph Clark met on Wednesday to discuss a wide range of international problems and various aspects of bilateral relations, which have been improved by recent Soviet-Canadian summits in Moscow.

After the negotiations, both ministers praised the current state of Soviet-Canadian ties and pointed to the favourable prospects for their development.

Shevardnadze noted that the negotiations were held in a spirit of "mutual understanding and respect."

Answering journalists' questions, the Soviet minister touched upon Wednesday's Ottawa agreement on external aspects of German reunification, which had been approved by both German states and the four great powers.

Shevardnadze said that they approved on Wednesday a mechanism of "The Six" to supervise all external aspects of reunification. He described this decision as historic.

Questioned about the levels of Soviet and American armed forces in Europe outside Soviet western borders, agreement upon which was also reached in Ottawa on Wednesday, Clark said that the verification breakthrough may lead to talks, which will include discussion also of the Canadian Armed Forces' level in Europe.

However, in the interests of stability, such decisions must be taken after consultations with NATO allies, noted Clark.

### Headway Made in Humanitarian Talks With U.S.

*LD1402214790 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Members of the Soviet-U.S. working group on humanitarian issues, which met in Moscow during talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker last week, said they made headway and coordinated future steps in this sphere, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official told a news conference here today.

Yuriy Reshetov, head of the ministry's department for international humanitarian cooperation and human rights, was speaking about Soviet-American humanitarian contacts.

He said the Soviet Union and the United States had shifted their attention from the so-called "old agenda" to a new one.

The "old agenda," which included issues connected with the consideration of cases and the organisation of psychiatric treatment in the two countries and specific cases of the denial of the right to leave one's country, was considerably reduced as a result of the two sides' efforts, Reshetov said.

"The sides seek to gradually close the old agenda," he added.

"The Soviet side expressed certain concern over the U.S. position on immigration issues, as a considerable number of people leaving the Soviet Union for the United States are considered there as refugees, although there are neither legal nor actual grounds for that," Reshetov pointed out.

"The opinion was also expressed that the persistent reluctance to develop normal contacts between trade unions of the two countries was not in line with the present state of Soviet-American relations, nor with the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki and Vienna agreements."

Reshetov said the two sides plan to hold a joint seminar in Moscow from March 19-21 to discuss the functioning of a rule-of-law state and to organise the training of Soviet lawyers in the United States.

Speaking about plans for Soviet-U.S. humanitarian cooperation on the international scene, Reshetov said the sides would seek to achieve positions when they would belong to "one legal space jointly with other European states and Canada."

He said the Soviet side emphasised the need to make international human rights laws universal so that legislation and practices in every country accorded to high international standards.

## Bessmertnykh Interviewed on U.S. Relations

*LD1502015190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

["Topical Interview" program featuring USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh interviewed by program presenter Valentin Zorin; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. We are talking to USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh. The event that for several days now has been attracting very great attention from the whole world press is the Soviet-U.S. meeting held in Moscow, the meeting of Soviet leaders with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich took a direct part in the talks that were held, so we have an opportunity to learn this information firsthand. I would like to ask you, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich: After Malta, which engendered quite a few hopes, there was a certain period of time, and now the meetings and talks held in Moscow were effectively the first contact at higher level, a kind of test. What did this Moscow meeting produce?

[Bessmertnykh] Two months have passed since Malta. Malta was a very serious demand on those who work in the Soviet-U.S. field. It produced great demands in work, and set very complex and important tasks. So hundreds of experts, representing the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, our intelligence and economic departments, and so on, were studying all this time how to work out our future approaches, our line of conducting a specific position on all the questions raised during the summit meeting in Malta.

[Zorin] Now this meeting with Baker in Moscow was the first concrete meeting at which we began a substantial, specific conversation on all these questions and problems. What did it produce?

[Bessmertnykh] This round of talks produced quite a few clarifications, mainly from a general point of view, of intentions or confirmation of intentions of the sides to make further progress in organizing relations.

You know, there cannot be naivety in politics, and here there ought to be a constant aspiration to check out the partner in practice. In politics, words bear some sense only when they either give an impetus to actions or explain actions, or lead to those actions. Therefore, it is asbsolutely natural that in the period that has elapsed since Malta, many events have arisen—much that we liked and much that we disliked. Therefore, the first task was to clarify the intentions of the U.S. Administration in general terms. I must say that we are experiencing a certain satisfaction on this point. The U.S. side has confirmed its readiness to develop relations and to bring them out onto the level, about which Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush agreed. Second, the meeting provided a number of specific results on most important central problems that were discussed: military-political problems and problems of security. Here we discussed a large body of issues, and we attempted first and foremost to concentrate on the most difficult of them, for the first time in recent months—and I would say perhaps even years—we managed to move forward on a number of key issues. Regional matters were discussed, of course. I will not go into them in detail because much has been written about them. The discussion on them was acute at times, especially when we started discussing Central America. We presented the corresponding account to the administration about questions connected with their invasion of Panama, their behavior with respect to Cuba, and so forth. Nevertheless, the conversation generally worked, and it should be that way; that is frank and direct.

This time, we also devoted great attention to problems connected with the development of specific spheres of cooperation, meaning those spheres in which the Soviet Union and the United States are interested, first and foremost trade and economic contacts, meaning scientific-technical exchanges and so forth. In foreign policy, apart from issues concerning security, there is also, as is known, a task to ensure maximum conditions for the development of our perestroyka, and not only conditions, but also to assist by some sort of specific steps in the regulation of our economy and in getting it out of the difficult state in which it finds itself. Therefore, we came to an arrangement with the Americans to achieve in three or four months an agreement about the development of trade between the two countries. There has not been such an agreement since 1974, and generally there has not been one for many, many years.

In the sphere connected with scientific-technical contacts, we will conclude an agremeent—and we have already come to an arrangement on this—about the protection of investments and capital investments. That is very much need this for the development of bilateral economic cooperation. There were also many joint projects connected with the environment, with ecology. Here very strong cooperation is being arranged, so the range was very broad. I mentally counted how many issues were discussed during Baker's stay here, and, incidentally, they all were substantial issues. During the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich and the secretary of state, and during the talks between our two ministers, it worked out that there were 52 or 53 themes, each of which bears great significance for our relations and for our country.

[Zorin] Understood. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, I understand it is perhaps not very well-considered to ask a diplomat direct questions, but nevertheless I want to ask you: Are there any chances that by the summer of this year the long-suffering contract about a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons will be signed?

[Bessmertnykh] Valentin Sergeyevich, I think it is necessary to ask a diplomat direct questions, but not always to reckon on a direct answer.

[Zorin] And in this instance?

[Bessmertnykh] In this instance, I will attempt to give a direct answer. The point is that we have been engaged in studying strategic offensive weapons for 20 years now, since the beginning of the seventies. The material has proven to be exceptionally complex and difficult, and to contain within itself a large element, so to speak, of resistance. Much has been done but now we have approached the most specific task—the reduction of strategic weapons—by one half. If one believes the pace that has accumulated now in Moscow, during the talks with Baker, will be maintained, then by June, when the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting is to take place, should be able to untie all the major knots, which do not allow us to conclude a treaty now. I think such a task stands before us today, and I think it is realistic. I fear, however, that it will not be possible to sign the treaty at the summit meeting, because, apart from purely conceptual problems, there also is a large group of technical aspects. Even if and when the two countries' leaders untie these most difficult knots, and I have already said that we have almost untied some of them and we have weakened some of them, then major technical and legal work by the delegations will still be required for the registration of all this in the form of a treaty. Therefore, by way of a forecast, I could say that in June we will essentially be able to ensure the conclusion of the treaty, and to sign it something like, perhaps, near the end of this current year of 1990.

[Zorin] Please do not object that I am asking such a difficult question, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, but immediately before Baker's departure for Moscow the well-known American political scientist, Stephen Cohen, whom you will be well-acquainted with, wrote: The Soviet Union needs to know that President Bush and the United States as a whole will not be trying to get their hands on the fragments of Eastern Europe. That is how he put it. I think it is clear what he means. I want to ask you what you think of such statements.

[Bessmertnykh] I know this political scientist, and I am somewhat distressed by the inaccuracy of the way he puts things, since there can be no question of any fragments of Eastern Europe. The states of Eastern Europe remain, and they continue to be sovereign independent states in which very serious internal processes are taking place. So the states of Eastern Europe are not porcelain structures and they are not breaking into fragments. I would even say that all these internal processes under way there are logical processes, in line with what is in some measure taking place throughout the world, including in our country.

[Zorin] Are there attempts to take advantage of the situation?

[Bessmertnykh] In essence, yes. You are asking what is the U.S. line toward Eastern Europe. Let us be frank. The United States has always had a very great interest in this region; both when everything was stagnant and stable there, and particularly when substantial changes began to occur there. Since last summer, the U.S. interest and present administration's interest in this region has grown. You will no doubt remember very well that President Bush visited Poland and Hungary, thus demonstrating his interest in the reforms taking place in these countries. Recently, and after his Moscow visit, the secretary of state visited Bulgaria, Romania, and so on. There is great interest. The question that arises is where the U.S. line will lead and in what direction they will channel their activity.

Here I think, and I am basing my remarks on the talks held in Moscow and in Malta, that the U.S. Administration understands that in its activities in the East European region it must have an awareness of the boundary which it ought not to cross. What is this boundary and what is it determined by? It is primarily determined by the interests of these states themselves, and these states must also manifest due vigilance and common sense in their relations with all other states. It is determined by the Soviet Union's interests and the interests of other neighboring states, and the interests of stability in Europe. Naturally, there are forces in the United States that feel no small temptation to take advantage of events in Eastern Europe in their own interests. These forces, moreover, are both to the left and right of Bush. I would even say that at the present time, the liberal democratic forces in the United States are particularly active: They are calling on Bush not to miss a historic opportunity, and so on and so forth. Eastern Europe is an allied zone with respect to us. The Warsaw Treaty remains in force. Eastern Europe is tied to us economically, geographically, and politically, but it is getting greater freedom to move in its political activity. We do not object to this, since we have our own freedom to move in our relations with the West, and so on. The logic of events will, I believe, prompt the leaders of Eastern Europe to retain everything of substance demanded by the objective requirements of these countries. Thus, this is a turbulent and changing period, but in spite of that, by demonstrating creativity, common sense and realism, politics should take the situation in a stable direction. I think that we, and Eastern Europe, and the whole of Europe and the United States too, have an interest in this.

[Zorin] Briefly, in conclusion, taking Soviet-U.S. relations if only for the foreseeable future, what do you believe lies ahead?

[Bessmertnykh] You know, the future is what it is because it inevitably contains a certain lack of clarity as an integral quality. So, it is difficult to say with 100 percent accuracy how things will proceed. We can make forecasts, however, based on what is now taking place and on the substance of the talks currently being held with the Americans. I think in the very near future we will provide these relations with a solid material base in the form of the treaties and agreements I mentioned. We will ensure a significant degree of stability in these relations, something that will also presuppose greater stability in Europe and in the world. At the same time, however, we must also be somewhat on our guard as professionals, because the experience even of the end of last year and this year shows that events are proceeding so rapidly and temptations are so great as far as certain forces are concerned, that constant circumspection, attention, balance of approaches and a negotiating energy combining force of conviction with the force of the interests that we are defending, will have to be maintained. So it will be a difficult and complex year; it will not be easy. I think we can look to the future of these relations with sufficient optimism.

[Zorin] Many thanks to you for this interview.

[Bessmertnykh] Thank you.

### Plans for Central Asian Broadcasts Questioned

*LD1402181290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb. (TASS)—TASS political observer Albert Balebanov has written:

The United States, as REUTER reports, intends in the near future to begin construction of relay centers for the Voice of America and Radio Liberty radio stations in the Negev Desert in Israel, with the purpose of direct broadcasting to Soviet central Asia. Naturally, it is Washington's right to determine what the U.S. taxpayer's money should or should not be spent on. But without casting any doubt on this right, one cannot refrain from the question: Why is it right now that those in Washington have deemed it necessary to step up direct broadcasting to the Asiatic region of our country?

The question, one would think, is legitimate in itself, but it is doubly legitimate if one takes the following two facts into account. First, it is no secret that flare-ups of separatist nationalist tendencies have been observed in a number of areas of Soviet central Asia recently. Second, it is also well known that a number of the broadcasts of Voice of America, to say nothing of the program of Radio Liberty, which has made its base in Munich, FRG, come across in a tone that makes it possible to speak of attempts at actual encouragement of nationalism and separatism. Is it not this "front" that certain circles of the United States, which to judge by everything have no desire whatsoever to give up their old propaganda schemes and confrontational stereotypes, intend to "develop"?

At the Vienna meeting of member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a consensus was reached on the issue that these states "will exert efforts with the aim of assisting the constant expansion of knowledge and understanding of life in their states." However, when one listens to the broadcasts of Radio Liberty, it is hard to escape the thought that the aim of these broadcasts is by no means that of "expanding the knowledge" of Soviet people about the U.S. by means of an objective exchange of information. These broadcasts, as a rule, pursue quite different goals. This is why the announcement of the forthcoming construction in Israel of two relay centers for broadcasting to the Asiatic regions of the USSR cannot fail to put one on one's guard. The action at issue can hardly be considered to be in tune with the positive shifts and changes which are occurring in relations between our two countries—more likely, the opposite.

### TASS Notes U.S. 'Star Wars' Rocket Launch

*LD1402225190 Moscow TASS in English 2229 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] New York February 15 TASS—The United States launched a Delta rocket to deploy two spacecraft to test "Star Wars" anti-missile lasers.

The launch from Cape Canveral, Florida, was described as "very clean and smooth" by an Air Force spokesman.

### Security for President's Cartagena Visit Noted

*LD1402104190 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Washington February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

The U.S. amphibious ship Nassau accompanied by the Sampson cruiser arrived in Colombia on Tuesday to ensure the work of a U.S. delegation at the Cartagena summit, a spokesman for the Pentagon said on Tuesday.

The U.S. mass media link this unusual way of ensuring the security of the U.S. delegation with reports that Colombian drug syndicates may make an attempt on the life of President George Bush who is expected to discuss the anti-drug strategy with the leaders of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia on Thursday.

The Pentagon refused to report how many servicemen are on board the Nassau, but ships of this type usually carry 1,900 marines and the crew. Such ships are equipped with 10 attack aircraft and 21 helicopters, as well as landing means.

An official spokesman for the U.S. Defence Department Robert Hall said that the U.S. ships had been sent to Colombia with the consent of the Colombian Government that will assign about 5,000 security agents to protect President Bush.

According to the CBS television company, the U.S. intelligence services have information that Colombian drug dealers have bought antiaircraft missiles to shoot down the President's jet Air Force One. According to CBS, U.S officials are sure that they would be able to foil any attempt to down the jet Air Force One. It pointed out that the presidential plane is equipped with electronic devices to deceive "ground-to-air" missiles. Besides, according to ASSOCIATED PRESS, the jet Air Force One and the presidential helicopter will be escorted by U.S. war planes.

Incidentally, there has already been an attempt to kill Bush in Colombia. It was eight years ago when he visited this Latin American country as vice-president. A large charge of dynamite was planted under the runway at the Bogota Airport. It was connected to an electric generator situated in 300 metres from the runway. The charge was discovered only several hours after Bush left Bogota: The terrorists had evidently failed to get to the generator on time, because the airport was surrounded by Colombian troops.

## China

### PRC Bans 'Front for Democracy in China'

*PM1202161990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Yu. Savenkov undated Beijing dispatch: "China: Activity of 'Front for Democracy in China' Banned"]

[Text] Citing a Beijing Municipal Public Safety Administration leader, the XINHUA agency has described the "Front for Democracy in China" as "a reactionary organization attempting to overthrow the Chinese Government and committing sabotage against the socialist system in China."

The "Front for Democracy in China" was formed in Paris last September by Chinese emigres, many of whom left the PRC after the tragic events of the early summer. They include well known political scientist Yan Jiangqi, former head of the "Stone" computer corporation Wan Runan, and others. The XINHUA report talks in particular about recent front activity in Taiwan.

Front Secretary General Wan Runan, the news agency writes, established contact with the secret service in Taiwan. As the Hong Kong press reported, he recently visited the island, where he received large sums of money in donations. A branch of the front was created there last week. The press has also reported the intention to open a department of the front in Hong Kong.

The official Public Safety Administration spokesman stated: In accordance with the country's Constitution and laws, China prohibits activity by the front on its territory and has warned that any attempts to secretly penetrate into China will be resolutely stopped. He also explained that whereas harsh measures in accordance with criminal legislation will be applied toward Yan Jiangqi and other founders of the front, rank-and-file members who leave the organization will be treated more leniently.

XINHUA also reported that three dissidents—Yan Jiangqi, Wan Runan, and Chen Yizi—have had their passports annulled because they are continuing activity detrimental to China's interests.

### Changes in PRC Policy Toward Businessmen

*OW1502060490 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 6 Feb 90*

[Text] "Improving the Ideological Environment" is the title of a newsletter by Yu. Savenkov, Beijing-based reporter of IZVESTIYA from the Soviet Union. The following are excerpts of the newsletter.

Owners of private companies and self-employed businessmen who exploit hired hands will not be admitted as party members. This was affirmed by BEIJING RIBAO, organ of the Beijing municipal party committee.

Savenkov writes: The tone of this publication is very uncompromising, and sharply contrasts the more flexible approach last year, characterized by the debate on whether millionaires could become Communist Party members. At that time, there were all kinds of answers to that question. For instance, Li Xigui, owner of a large transportation company in suburban Shenyang, was not admitted to the party. But his relative Xu Jizhe, director of a hardware factory, was more lucky and was accepted as a probationary party member. The township party committee agreed to accept him in this capacity. Local papers questioned the practice of preventing rich people like Xu Jizhe, who had paid taxes to the state regularly, donated 200,000 yuan to the construction of schools, and set up a workshop for 70 handicapped people, from joining the party. The following was the view of RENMIN RIBAO at that time.

It is wrong to judge the pace of reform in China from an abstract viewpoint and determine whether it is socialist or capitalist. Everything facilitating the development of the productive forces is rational.

When quoting RENMIN RIBAO, the IZVESTIYA reporter noted that this was the attitude of the Chinese leaders to the pioneering spirit of private owners not long ago. The new emphasis did not surface until China began to experience initial difficulties in society, sharp rises in prices, inflation, all types of malpractice, and irrational distribution of income.

The tense situation which developed in Beijing during the spring-summer period last year aggravated this development, and the attitude to private owners began to change. In the economic field, there have been more frequent reminders that the system of public ownership plays a dominant role, while other forms of ownership are only complementary.

The IZVESTIYA reporter said: No one has ever denied that political and ideological emphases began to shift. LIAOWANG magazine asserted that ideology is the crux of reform, and the faith in socialism has been markedly shaken. It arrived at the conclusion that it is imperative to improve the ideological environment.

It is generally known that the plenary session of the CPC Central Committee in December 1978 shifted the emphasis of work from class struggle to modernization. That was a major theoretical and practical breakthrough. Now, a new and subtle change has occurred in the policies of the Chinese leaders, that is, while class struggle is not the major aspect, it should not be underestimated. To the Chinese leaders, the root of class struggle now lies in bourgeois liberalization which has infiltrated all areas, including the economic field.

Newpapers now carry fewer reports on shrewd and capable businessmen. Other types of people are given priority instead, including peasants like Wang Changzhi. People from the city came to Wang's house and offered to buy his grain at prices which were double state prices. Wang had honored his contract and had the right to make more money. However, he amazed the buyers by rejecting the offer and selling the grain to the state at a much lower price.

With this, Savenkov, Beijing-based reporter of IZVESTIYA, concluded his newsletter.

You have been listening to a newsletter carried in IZVESTIYA from the Soviet Union, which discussed the changes in Chinese leaders' policies to private ownership.

### Army's Marxism-Leninism, Mao Thought Noted

*PM1202142790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 90 Single Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Document Distributed"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Feb—Paramount importance is attached to the study of the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought because it ensures that the Army meets the political demands made of it and follows the party's leadership in the complex situation in the international arena and inside the country. This is emphasized in a document distributed here by the People's Liberation Army Main Political Directorate. It defines the tasks of commanders in terms of ideological and political work, which this year will be based on the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Reportage on Ryzhkov's Visit to Thailand

#### IZVESTIYA on Visit

*PM1402121590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Visit to Bangkok"]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the Thai Government, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow 10 February for Bangkok on an official visit. He will then pay official visits to Australia and Singapore.

The following saw off N.I. Ryzhkov at the airport: L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Shkabardnya, administrator of affairs at the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The Thai, Australian, and Singapore charges d'affaires were among the sendoff party.

S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium; and I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who were among the accompanying officials, left with the head of the Soviet Government. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and those accompanying him visited the Grand Royal Palace located on the Chao Phraya River [in Bangkok]. It was started in 1782, when the country's capital was switched to that location by King Phraya Chakri (Rama I), founder of the present dynasty, and until 1946 it was the residence of all the subsequent kings of Thailand. Nowadays the Grand Royal Palace is open to visitors and is famous as Bangkok's main tourist attraction.

N.I. Ryzhkov made a note in the honored visitors book.

## Thai Premier's Speech Reported

*PM1402163190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4*

[Unnamed TASS special correspondent report under the general heading: "Luncheon in Honor of Important Guest"]

[Text] Bangkok, 12 Feb—The Thai Cabinet today gave a luncheon in the Government House in honor of the official visit by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The people accompanying the Soviet head of government, Thai members of parliament, and Thai ministers attended the luncheon.

Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan made a speech at the luncheon.

**Speech by Chatchai Chunhawan**

Your Excellency!

Mrs Ryzhkov!

Esteemed guests!

It is an enormous pleasure and honor for my wife and me to give this luncheon today in honor of His Excellency Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Mrs. Ryzhkov. I want to warmly welcome our Soviet guests and wish them a useful and pleasant stay in Thailand.

Your visit—the first visit to Thailand by a Soviet prime minister—is a historic event in Thai-Soviet relations. Our countries have had cordial relations ever since the last century. We have made good progress in improving relations over the years. In fact, I am sure you will agree that we have achieved great successes in developing our bilateral links in recent years. This is reflected in the growing number of exchange visits and also by the increase in cultural and sporting exchanges. The volume of trade between our two countries has also been increasing all the time. I believe this reflects a mutual desire to expand and strengthen cooperation between our two countries. Your visit will be a further boost to the strengthening of existing mutual relations and will be a welcome opportunity for us to discuss matters of mutual interest.

We welcome the Soviet Union's interest in expanding contacts and cooperation with Thailand. I believe the potential exists for the further development of cooperation. In this connection, the program of cultural and scientific exchanges, the protocol on implementing the agreement on scientific-technical cooperation, and the agreement on providing plots of land for embassies signed during this visit are indicative of the progress that has been made in our relations. These agreements are further grounds for intensifying cooperation in the future.

Your visit is taking place at a particularly appropriate time. We have entered a new decade which generates hope of the achievement of peace and prosperity the world over. Last year, 1989, was a year of important changes. The Soviet Union itself is going through a historic process of democratization and perestroyka. The Soviet Union's "new political thinking," inspired by President Mikhail Gorbachev, has helped ease tension in the world. Today, in international relations, countries are guided by pragmatism, not by political or ideological considerations. We heartily welcome the new spirit of detente between the superpowers. The prevailing climate in international relations should provide favorable opportunities for resolving regional and international problems. Therefore, as we enter the nineties, we sincerely hope that the era of confrontation is a thing of the past and we will be able to enter an era of peace and cooperation.

What we have learned from the events of last year is that the world is interrelated. Peace and prosperity go hand in hand; the one cannot occur without the other. I sincerely believe that the best guarantee of peace and security is attainable through economic prosperity. Now that the world is experiencing a process of change the community of nations has been given a unique opportunity to work together to achieve the main goal—peace and prosperity for the whole of mankind.

Many changes are clearly visible in Southeast Asia. After decades of hostility and conflicts we are at last starting to make progress in establishing peace in the region. The Cambodian negotiation process is operating again. I hope that informal talks will take place in the very near future between the Cambodian sides and the other countries involved in order to consolidate the progress made at the international conference on Cambodia in Paris.

Both our countries share a common desire for the speediest cessation of armed clashes in Cambodia. I believe that a solution to the problem can only be found through political dialogue and talks. Thailand rates highly the Soviet Union's constructive efforts and assistance in the quest for a political solution of the Cambodian problem, which is long overdue. At last peace is almost within our grasp, but it cannot be achieved without decent support. As soon as peace and stability are established this will enable the countries of

Indochina to busy themselves with very necessary socioeconomic development for the benefit of their own peoples.

Peace and stability in Southeast Asia are all the more important when viewed in the context of the rapid economic development taking place in the Asian-Pacific region. Some countries in the region constantly record the highest economic growth rates in the world. These high growth rates are expected to continue over the next few years. These countries' dynamic economies have attracted the attention of foreign investors, which, in turn, has helped bring about further economic growth. No one would want to see this economic development disrupted by political conflicts or a rising tide of protectionism. We must endeavor to create a favorable atmosphere for trade and investment and make sure that the country does not become an arena of armed rivalry or military confrontation.

I believe that the Soviet Union, as a superpower and also as a Pacific Ocean power, should play a massive part in ensuring peace and stability in the region. Thailand welcomes the Soviet Union's willingness to develop friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with the region's countries, as President Gorbachev stated in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. We also welcome the Soviet Union's efforts to reduce tension and military rivalry in the region. There are many opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation, particularly in the spheres of trade, science and technology, and culture.

At the same time, among the countries of the Pacific zone there has been an upsurge in interest in regional cooperation. Last November's conference on Asian-Pacific economic cooperation in Canberra was an attempt at developing economic cooperation among the region's countries. These efforts are continuing. The strengthening of cooperation among the region's countries would help us to cope better with the increasing interdependence and complexity of commercial relations and help unleash the economic dynamism amd potential of the region.

Thailand favors broader economic cooperation within the framework of the Pacific zone. I believe that ASEAN, as a group, is in a special situation and must play a central role in the process of developing econonic cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region.

I believe that on the basis of the changes currently taking place the Asian-Pacific region countries have good reason to view the future with hope and optimism. But we must direct the pulse of change into the correct channel. All countries in the region must play a part in building a peaceful and prosperous region in which people can live in peace and freedom. Let us hope that when this decade ends and we enter a new century we will be able to make the "Pacific age" a reality.

Esteemed guests!

Allow me to invite you to join me in a toast to wish His Excellency and Mrs. Ryzhkov many years of good health and happiness, a toast to cordial relations between our two peoples and countries.

### Ryzhkov's Meeting With King

*PM1402122390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "On the Principles of Mutual Advantage"]

[Text] Bangkok, 13 Feb—A conversation was held here 12 February between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and King Phumiphon Adunyadet, Thai head of state. N.I. Ryzhkov reported on the state of affairs in the USSR and described the current phase of perestroyka, which is characterized by continuation of the course of implementing profound reforms in the country's political and economic life.

The king of Thailand stressed that his country is following the transformations in the Soviet Union with great interest and wishes success to perestroyka and to M.S. Gorbachev's efforts for the good of the Soviet people and the strengthening of international peace.

Both sides made a positive evaluation of the continuing development of Soviet-Thai relations and the broadening of bilateral cooperation, including trade and economic ties. The increase in positive trends in the development of the international situation, which have had a beneficial effect on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, was noted.

On the evening of 12 February N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, held an important meeting with eminent representatives of business circles. A program to implement the agreement on cooperation between the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry and the Thai Trade Council was signed during the meeting. N.I. Ryzhkov and representatives of the private sector of the country's economy exchanged opinions on questions of making fuller use of existing opportunities in raising trade and economic links to a qualitatively new level. The sides noted that perestroyka in the Soviet Union will promote the realization of large-scale plans for trade and economic ties between the USSR and Thailand.

Questions regarding the political and economic transformations in the Soviet people's life, the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress, and the elections to local soviets were also actively raised at a press conference held today. N.I. Ryzhkov gave a detailed briefing to Thai and foreign journalists about the USSR Government's measures to resolve economic problems such as eliminating the budget deficit and satisfying the Soviet people's growing demand for consumer goods. Speaking about the USSR's foreign policy in the region, he stressed the practical significance of M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives on strengthening peace and creating a climate of trust in the Asia-Pacific region. N.I. Ryzhkov warmly thanked Prime Minister C. Chunhawan, the government, and the people of Thailand for their friendly reception and hospitality. He expressed satisfaction at the fact that both sides did all they could to lend a genuinely businesslike and constructive character to the first official visit by the head of the Soviet Government to Thailand. Despite the short duration of the visit, N.I. Ryzhkov said, his time in Thailand enabled him to see for himself that the people of this country have been able to achieve great economic successes and harmoniously combine an ancient culture and modern progress.

The official visit of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to Thailand is over. Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan, government members, and foreign ambassadors went to see off the eminent guest at the capital's Don Muang Airport. Among the sendoff party was A.I. Balkov, USSR ambassador to Thailand.

N.I. Ryzhkov left Bangkok for an official visit to Australia at the invitation of that country's government.

### Radio Summarizes Visit 13 Feb

*BK1402135590 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Text] Dear listeners: Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has ended his official visit to Thailand. In Thailand, he met with Thai Prime Minister General Chatchai Chunhawan. The two leaders exchanged views on the situation in their respective countries, bilateral relations, and international issues of common concern. Both sides expressed satisfaction over growing Soviet-Thai relations and support for efforts to intensify these relations, including the broadening of bilateral cooperation in various fields on the basis of equality, mutual respect for and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefits. Both the Soviet Union and Thailand stressed their common desire to promote political exchanges, including at the summit level, and to expand contacts between the parliaments of both countries.

The meeting in Bangkok attached special interest to bilateral economic cooperation. Several projects were taken up for examination to promote potentials in cooperation, including greater participation by the Soviet Union and Thailand in economic development of the region. Both sides expressed readiness to promote contacts between their respective business circles, exchanges of business information, and methods of cooperation to fully utilize the potential of the economic reforms in the Soviet Union and the rapid economic growth in Southeast Asia.

Both sides noted the closeness, or similarity, of their attitudes toward several international issues, and they expressed willingness to make efforts to lessen international tension and create a world free of nuclear weapons in line with the principle of nonviolence. Thai Prime Minister Gen. Chatchai Chunhawan welcomed the results of the summit between President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush off the Malta coast, and the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations. The Soviet and Thai prime ministers welcomed the favorable international climate, especially in Asia and the Pacific, where the political atmosphere looks brighter with settlement of major issues within sight. The two sides see the need to make greater efforts to eliminate political tension and regional disputes in Asia and the Pacific. They support trade and economic development in the region based on the international free trade system. They accept the diversification of socioeconomic systems of countries in the region and look forward to seeing progress in the entire region.

On the situation in Southeast Asia, the meeting in Bangkok gave special attention to the settlement of the Cambodian problem. Out of their concern for the growing danger in Cambodia following the Vietnamese troops' pullout, the Soviet and Thai prime ministers called for an end to the killing and a resumption of talks at all levels in an effort to achieve a negotiated settlement. In this connection, both sides praised the suggestions and proposals put forth by various nations aimed at resolving the Cambodian problem.

The Thai Government hosted a reception in honor of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. Thai Prime Minister Gen. Chatchai Chunhawan delivered a speech that can be summed up as follows:

This is the first visit to Thailand by a Soviet prime minister. It is considered a most important event in the history of Soviet-Thai relations. Our two countries have enjoyed a long friendship that dates back to the last century, and we have made progress in this friendship through time. This reflects our common desire to develop and consolidate our relations. Your excellency's visit has given a strong impetus to our relations as well as great opportunities for us to exchange views on various problems. We welcome the Soviet interest in expanding relations and cooperation with Thailand. It is believed that all our existing potentials will facilitate a smooth development of our cooperation. A program on cultural and scientific exchanges, a protocol on scientific and technological cooperation, and an accord on plots of land for building embassies of both countries were signed during this visit. All this attested to the progress made in the relations between our two countries. It provides a strong foundation for future development of our cooperation.

Your excellency's visit is taking place at an auspicious moment, since we are entering a new decade that gives us hope for international peace and prosperity. Several changes are evident in Southeast Asia. Following decades of disputes, conflicts, and hostilities, we finally see a prospect for development in this region. Talks on Cambodia are resuming. We hope that the informal talks among the disputing parties of Cambodia and the countries involved will contribute to the forthcoming international conference on Cambodia scheduled to open in

Paris soon. It is a common desire of our countries to see the conflict in Cambodia settled most urgently. We believe that the settlement of the problem can be achieved only through political negotiations. Thailand highly appreciates the Soviet efforts and its constructive support to solve the Cambodian problem by political means. The problem should have been settled a long time ago.

Peace is within our reach finally. Yet, we can never achieve it if we do not make constructive contributions. Once peace and stability are established, countries in Indochina will be able to concentrate their efforts for socioeconomic development in the interests of their people. We must try our best to create favorable conditions for trade and investment and to protect this region from being transformed into an area of military contention and arms confrontation. We believe that the Soviet Union, which is a world power as well as a power in the Pacific, will play a major role toward achieving peace and stability in the region. Thailand praises the Soviet Union for its readiness to develop friendly relations and promote constructive cooperation with countries in this region for reciprocal interests as stipulated in the statements of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. We praise Soviet efforts toward reducing tension and military competition in the area. There are great chances for constructive cooperation—in trade and scientific, technological, and cultural exchanges.

At the same function, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov made a speech. It can be summarized as follows:

Friendship between our two countries dates back more than a century and is rich in beautiful traditions. Even the governments under the czars had respect and deep sympathy for the country of Siam, which successfully overcame political difficulties in late 19th century and preserved its independence and sovereignty. This same attitude regarding Thailand continues to prevail in the Soviet Union, which always upholds the principle of equality and respect for national sovereignty and mutual benefits. This visit, which is the first in the history of our 50 years of diplomatic relations, is taking place at a most significant moment—that is, when the Soviet Union is undergoing reforms.

Under the program of perestroyka, changes are profoundly taking place in all aspects of Soviet society. This is the groundwork for modernism, the construction of a modern society, and the development of democracy and openness. It is true that this is our internal affair. Yet our two countries, as well as the world community, stand to benefit from it all. The reform in the Soviet Union consists in the new political thinking on international relations. We can already see practical implementation of such thinking from the handling of international issues on the basis of a growing mutual trust. This has ended the long era of cold war, which deprived mankind of mutual trust. It has also greatly lessened the degree of tension caused by military confrontation between two groups of political and military alliances. The efforts to promote deeper understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States resulted in success in the first steps toward achieving concrete agreements in arms reduction. Our relations with other countries, including Soviet-Thai relations, cannot be isolated from this historical change or the general trend of the present time.

At their meeting, both the Soviet and the Thai sides expressed interest in developing relations in all fields. It would be good to promote trade and economic relations based on the directions established by our two countries in the past, while utilizing the new lines conceived as a result of the current reforms in the Soviet Union. This will contribute to growing cooperation among business corporations in view of establishing joint investment enterprises.

The favorable political climate will contribute to normalization in Southeast Asia; first of all is the settlement of the Cambodian problem. We are impressed by the serious efforts made by Thailand to tackle the problem. The Thai prime minister's call for transformation of Indochina from a battle zone to trade zone will come true and will contribute to the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Our stand regarding the problems in Asia and the Pacific is clearly defined in the initiatives of Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. We hope that talks on trade and economic exchanges among all countries in the region, based on equality and mutual advantage, will be a genuine guarantee toward resisting the threat of war and will help consolidate a bright atmosphere for Asia, including Southeast Asia. This is a sure way of building mutual confidence and understanding in efforts to improve and achieve harmony for all systems in international relations in the region. It will also create positive factors in the global political situation.

### Comparison—Luncheon Speech

*PM1402141990*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a Ryzhkov speech at a 12 February Bangkok luncheon. The PRAVDA item, under the general heading "Luncheon in Honor of an Important Guest," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the headline "Ryzhkov Speaks at Luncheon," beginning on page 17, revealing the following variations:

Page 17, column two, penultimate paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA begins: [Text] Speech by N.I. Ryzhkov:

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Chunhawan!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

First of all... (deleting paragraph; supplying PRAVDA opening and deleting quotation marks)

Page 18, column two, paragraph four, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...times, in isolation from the imperatives of... (adding "from")

### Comparison—Chunhawan Talks

*PM1302160590*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report entitled "Soviet-Thai Talks. The PRAVDA item has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the headline "Prime Minister, Ryzhkov Meet," beginning on page 16, revealing the following variations:

Page 17, column one, paragraph three, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...in their countries, comprehensively examined bilateral Soviet-Thai relations... (substituting "comprehensively examined" for "considered")

Paragraph four, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: Ryzhkov and Chunhawan welcomed the intensification of... (substituting "welcomed" for "noted")

Paragraph eight, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...a view to exploiting as fully as possible the reserves that are... (rewording)

Paragraph nine, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...to deepening the developing process of relaxation... (adding "developing")

Paragraph ten, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...new political thinking, which are making a wider and wider impact on the modern world, have prompted a... (adding clause)

Column two, paragraph two, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...two prime ministers welcomed the fact that the overall warming... (substituting "welcomed the fact" for "noted")

Same paragraph in PRAVDA reads: ...political climate and unraveling of knots of tension. The common view was expressed of the need to redouble efforts to further ease military tension and bring about a political settlement of existing regional conflicts in the Asia-Pacific region.

The two sides... (expanding passage)

### Comparison—Joint Communique

*PM1402113790*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 14 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 an unattributed report on the Soviet-Thai joint communique signed 12 February 1990 in Bangkok. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Soviet-Thai Communique," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the headline "Joint Communique Issued," beginning on page 19, reveals the following variations:

Page 19, column two, fourth full paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA begins: [Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of... (deleting dateline)

Seventh full paragraph, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...of foreign affairs; A.I. Valkov, USSR ambassador to... (changing initial)

Page 20, column two, paragraph two, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...prime minister in March 1979 and May 1988... (substituting "March" for "April")

Paragraph six, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...12 and 13 October 1989 in Moscow, and was aimed... (adding words)

Page 21, column two, paragraph four, sentence two in PRAVDA reads: ...on Asian-Pacific Ocean economic cooperation held in... (adding "economic")

## Prime Minister Ryzhkov Visiting Australia

### Meets Melbourne Businessmen

*PM1402143590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Unidentified TASS special correspondent report under the general heading "On the Principles of Mutual Advantage"]

[Excerpts] Melbourne, 13 Feb—[passage omitted] In the afternoon of 13 February N.I. Ryzhkov visited the Safeway food company's retail distribution center. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers also had talks with the management of CRA—a large mining corporation. [passage omitted]

During the conversation the need to accelerate the implementation of joint projects was stressed, as was the joint desire to put them on a practical footing.

N.I. Ryzhkov also met with the leaders of the "Australia-USSR" council of businessmen, which unites the country's leading businessmen with trade and economic links to the Soviet Union.

That evening J. Cain, Victoria State governor, held an official dinner in the Soviet guest's honor at the State Parliament Building.

N.I. Ryzhkov leaves for Australia's capital of Canberra on the morning of 14 February.

### Attends Luncheon; Hawke Speaks

*LD1402173590 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Canberra February 14 TASS—The relationship between the Soviet Union and Australia has matured in a dramatic way in recent years, said Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke at a luncheon in honour of visiting Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov here today.

Hawke stressed the readiness of the Australian Government to develop and expand relations with the Soviet Union and expressed hope that the Soviet prime minister's visit would strengthen that relationship even further. Australia and the Soviet Union may derive great benefit from bilateral contacts in 1990, he noted.

Hawke stressed that the Australian Government favours economic and political changes in the Soviet Union. He noted, among other things, the steady improvement of the human rights situation in the USSR.

The Australian prime minister welcomed Soviet foreign policy moves, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the positive contribution of the USSR to the resolution of the Namibian conflicts, and the role it played in tackling the Cambodian problem, as well as the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces deployed along the Soviet-Chinese border and in Cam Ranh Bay.

Hawke expressed confidence that the easing of tension in relations between the superpowers and the constructive Soviet foreign policy would lead to greater stability in the whole world, including in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Soviet premier's official visit to Australia is part of his tour of the region.

### Opens Talks With Hawke 14 Feb

*LD1402221290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Australia on an official visit, has begun talks with Prime Minister Robert Hawke. There was a prolonged one-to-one conversation during which the heads of government thoroughly discussed various aspects of bilateral relations, devoting particular attention to the prospects for their further development. They also examined a number of matters relating to contemporary international life. Both sides voiced satisfaction with the fact that relations between the USSR and Australia are becoming ever more substantial and concrete. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers had a conversation with Australian Governor-General Hayden, who welcomed the first visit to Australia by a Soviet head of government in the history of Soviet-Australian relations, describing it as an important new step in the development of bilateral relations.

That same day, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov met Peacock, leader of the opposition Liberal Party of Australia.

In the evening, Robert Hawke hosted a dinner in honor of his eminent Soviet guest.

### Details Talks for Journalists

*PM1502085790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 First Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Meeting in Canberra"]

[Text] Canberra, 14 Feb—N.I. Ryzhkov and R. Hawke held a one-on-one conversation today.

After the conversation, the leaders of the two governments bowed to pressure from Australian and foreign journalists and allowed them to ask questions.

We discussed a broad range of themes, R. Hawke stated; we were able to discuss frankly what is going on in the Soviet Union and the world and discuss questions of bilateral relations. I told the Soviet prime minister that Australia—both its people and government—wholeheartedly supports the changes taking place in the USSR and in East Europe. We want to give a constructive response to these changes and do everything possible to aid that process.

The Australian prime minister noted with satisfaction that mutual understanding had been achieved between the two countries on questions of banning mineral extraction in Antarctica and a number of other problems.

N.I. Ryzhkov stressed in his comment that this is the first visit by a Soviet head of government to Australia. Yesterday, he said, I visited Melbourne and since this morning, in addition to the official ceremony, I have had a detailed conversation with Prime Minister Hawke. He is particularly interested in the domestic situation in the Soviet Union. I did my best to highlight all that is positive and what is negative in our country. That applied to questions of the economy, the party, and interethnic relations. We also talked about certain problems in the international situation. In particular, we discussed the conflict in Cambodia. We support Australia's initiatives on this question, especially with regard to UN involvement in the settlement process.

We also touched on a number of questions of bilateral relations, N.I. Ryzhkov went on, and we feel that we have great prospects and potential in this area.

Replying to journalists' questions, the head of the Soviet Government noted that a number of proposals are being prepared on developing bilateral economic relations. In his opinion, a major project for a joint alumina and aluminum production enterprise is closer to realization. Talks are under way on improving geological exploration. Mr. Hawke and I are now discussing the question of fisheries. In our view this is an interesting proposal, but the Australian side must finalize it. We believe that it is of mutual benefit. Tomorrow we shall continue specific talks on this issue.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said that he very much wanted the visit not to be of a protocol character and hoped that it would be another stone in the foundation of our relations. We sense the openness of business circles and government organs with regard to cooperation with the Soviet Union. There is trust, and that is the main thing. Where there is trust there will also be trade, economic relations, and political contacts. Without trust there will be nothing.

### Further on News Conference

*LD1402210790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Today is the second day of his visit to Australia for Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Our correspondent P.Fedorov reports:

[Fedorov] Today in Canberra, the Australian capital, the official welcoming ceremony for the high-ranking Soviet guest has taken place in front of the Parliament Building, in accordance with the country's customs. Prime Minister Hawke and leading government ministers greeted Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. All day intensive talks between the government leaders of the two countries took place in Robert Hawke's office. They held a tete-a-tete behind closed doors.

The Australian side has organized a short joint news conference for Robert Hawke and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. Addressing representatives of the world media, the Australian prime minister expressed satisfaction with the negotiations and stressed their businesslike character. Robert Hawke declared full and unconditional support for the processes of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the changes in East European countries. He declared Australia's willingness to offer active help in solving Soviet economic problems. Thus, in particular, he announced that according to mutual agreement a group of experts, who will determine the most intensive ways of developing Soviet-Australian cooperation in production of foodstuffs, will go to our country this year. After that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov delivered a short address.

Today's program was so full that it was mutually decided to leave until tomorrow the signing of documents that define ways of developing Soviet-Australian cooperation. Also tomorrow Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov will leave for Sydney, the largest Australian city.

### Speaks at Canberra Dinner

*LD1402150290 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Canberra February 14 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed to the improvement of the political atmosphere and the desire of most Asian and Pacific countries to seek their own security through political rather than military means.

He spoke at a dinner arranged in his honour by Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke in Canberra today. Ryzhkov is here on an official visit during a tour of several Asian and Pacific countries, including visits to Thailand and Singapore.

Ryzhkov noted at the same time that the situation in the region is complicated. The military presence is high in the area and some countries are involved in the expensive and dangerous arms race, he said.

Countries in the area do not use to the full opportunities to establish regional cooperation on an equal basis.

That is why, speaking at Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, President Gorbachev called on all Asian and Pacific countries to look jointly for ways to restructure regional relations and strengthen peace, security and cooperation.

The proposals on the relaxation of military tension in the region, buttressed by impressive practical measures, are the essence of these initiatives. "We expect that the main military powers in the region will meet Soviet proposals halfway," Ryzhkov said.

Describing the state of relations between the USSR and Australia, he stressed that the Soviet Union regards broader cooperation between the two countries as a "priority area of Soviet policy in the Asian-Pacific region and in the world arena."

Soviet-Australian relations have been developing in the right direction over the past few years, he noted.

The two countries are strengthening the political, including high-level, dialogue and consolidating their interaction in the international arena.

This dialogue is based on "the harmony or proximity of Soviet and Australian positions on important disarmament issues, including nuclear tests, nuclear non-proliferation, non-militarisation of space and prohibition and destruction of chemical stockpiles."

"We are also impressed by your government's unbiased and innovative approach to settling the Cambodian conflict," Ryzhkov continued.

Noting the existence of good prospects for the development and strengthening of bilateral cooperation in other areas, Ryzhkov noted that broader advantageous cooperation between the USSR and Australia accords with the interests of the Soviet and Australian people and is a contribution to the general improvement of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region.

### Moscow TV Reports on Visit

*LD1402191490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today is the second day of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's stay in Australia.

[Correspondent V. Ilyashenko] According to the traditions that exist on the continent, the official ceremony of meeting high-ranking guests takes place in the capital, Canberra, at the Parliament Building. This time, it is true, the traditions of meeting guests from abroad were broken. Prime Minister Hawke traveled to Melbourne yesterday primarily to meet the head of the Soviet Government directly at the city's airport. This is a mark of special attention to the Soviet guest. [video shows Ryzhkov being met at the airport, inspecting honor guard]

The Australian war memorial was constructed at the end of the 1930's as a mark of respect and in memory of the country's citizens who gave their lives on battlefields in various parts of the world, including during participation in the colonial wars on the side of England. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited the war memorial and laid a wreath at the monument. In one of the halls of the memorial, the head of the Soviet Government unveiled a small sculpture, a reproduction of the well-known work by Vuchetich: We beat our swords into ploushares. [video shows war memorial, Ryzhkov laying wreath and unveiling sculpture]

At the office of the prime minister today talks started between the two countries' heads of government. In a short statement after the first round of the meeting, Robert Hawke reported that this year a group of economic experts is to go to the Soviet Union to study the opportunities for cooperation in the production of foodstuffs. Australia would like to support the processes of perestroyka of the Soviet economy with deeds, Hawke said.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov answered questions put by journalists:

[Begin Ryzhiov recording] I think we have great possibilities for cooperation. What is most important is that we feel the openness in those business circles and governmental bodies with regard to the Soviet Union, we feel that there is trust. That is the most important thing. If there is trust, there will be economic relations, political contacts. If there is not trust, that means there will not by anything. We feel trust as a greater and very strong factor. [Video shows Ryzhkov answering journalists' questions] [end recording]

[Ilyashenko] Today, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov met and conversed with representatives of antiwar organizations in Canberra. He presented some shards of Soviet medium-range missiles to a museum as a gift. [video shows Ryzhkov meeting antiwar representatives]

### Further Coverage on Visit

For local coverage of the official visit of Prime Minister Ryzhkov to East Asia, including talks in Australia, Singapore, and Thailand, see the 13 February East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

### Rogachev, Australia's Evans Discuss Cambodia

*LD1502073990 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Canberra February 8 [date as received] TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev met Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Gareth John Evans as part of an official visit of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to Australia.

Evans told Rogachev about steps taken to implement the Australian plan of a Cambodian settlement which provides for an increase of the United Nations' role.

Both sides advanced concrete proposals on how to promote progress at talks on the Cambodian problem at all levels.

Evans spoke in favour of the Soviet proposal on the earliest setting of a moratorium on supplying weapons to all Cambodian sides.

## Near East & South Asia

### Shevardnadze Outlines Afghanistan Peace Plan

*LD1402170790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5*

[Article by Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR Foreign Minister and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member: "Afghanistan—The Difficult Road to Peace"]

[Text] The first anniversary of the day the last Soviet soldier left Afghan soil is being celebrated 15 February. It is possible to state without exaggeration that that event met with a response in the hearts of all Soviet people. They had awaited it impatiently and argued and worried over it.

There is no hiding the fact that, prior to that, many people both in our country and abroad could not finally determine their attitude to the goals of perestroyka. We passed that test of political responsibility both then and later. The Second Congress of People's Deputies made a courageous and honest assessment of that December 1979 decision to send troops into Afghanistan.

This test has also been passed with honor by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, which has proved under very complex conditions that its platform enjoys the Afghans' broad support. It has embarked on the path of seeking a political solution to the Afghan problem on local soil.

And yet, in speaking of the Soviet troop withdrawal, it is probably correct to mention primarily the domestic aspect of this event and to place it in the overall context of the perestroyka processes in our country. Having embarked on the path of perestroyka, we could not overlook the fact that Soviet troops were fighting in Afghanistan and that the blood of Soviet servicemen was being shed there.

The road to our troop withdrawal proved complex. It had been easier to get involved in the Afghan conflict originally than it was to get out of it. A complex tangle of conflicts had taken shape and was threatening far-reaching political and social upheavals. It had to be untangled without delay. We sharply activated the Geneva talks process. We had to endure a difficult diplomatic struggle. It was crowned with the signing of the Geneva agreements 14 April 1988, and we were able to begin our troop withdrawal.

Now that all that is behind us, we cannot fail to pay tribute not only to the parties to the historic international accords on Afghanistan but also to everyone who helped in one way or another, to a greater or lesser degree, to achieve them. Among them I wish in particular to point to India, which invariably acted constructively and made a substantial contribution to the common efforts. Good words should also be addressed to the PRC, which played an important role, above all as a neighboring country, in maintaining the necessary atmosphere around the talks.

And, of course, the agreement would hardly have been possible if Iran's position had not been well-disposed.

Naturally, that breakthrough had not only a domestic but also a clearly delineated international dimension. As M.S. Gorbachev said at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the Geneva agreements "were an important international landmark in the cause of the political settlement of regional conflicts, which harbor a danger to peace as a whole and slow down the peoples' progress." The breakthrough on the Afghan problem convincingly showed that the new political thinking in international affairs also meant practical actions to strengthen trust among states and peoples and to resolve the most tangled situations. The impact of the Afghan precedent had a definite effect on ending the Iran-Iraq war, untying the Anglo-Namibian [as published] knot, and consolidating the movement toward finding mutually acceptable, compromise solutions in Southeast Asia and Central America.

Finally—and this is, perhaps, the most important point—there has been a qualitative change in the situation in and around Afghanistan itself. A principled consensus in favor of understanding that there is no alternative to a political solution of the Afghan problem is taking shape deep within the extremely heterogeneous Afghan society and in the world as a whole. The bulk of the population of Afghanistan is extremely tired of the war and has realized the uselessness and hopelessness of continuing the blooodshed.

However, this truly nationwide desire for peace has not yet been transformed into concrete decisions adopted as a result of an all-Afghan dialogue, and this dialogue itself has not yet begun. In these circumstances the position of the Government of Afghanistan and of President Najibullah is very important, and it is noted for its constructive and flexible nature. Speaking in Kabul recently, the president reaffirmed his readiness to seek ways to a peaceful settlement. But progress is still being held up by the unreal terms being advanced by the opposition for beginning the dialogue.

Nevertheless, there are promising signs. We can talk—albeit for the moment mainly at the philosophical level—about points of contact emerging in the approaches of the Soviet Union and of the United States, which is a guarantor of the Geneva agreements together with the USSR. Above all, there is the joint conclusion that it is necessary to seek a political solution and establish a "transitional period," within which national reconciliation would be achieved and a new state power structure would be formed in Afghanistan. Not that much, perhaps, but a considerable amount, particularly when you consider how complex this issue is. Questions concerning Afghanistan have just been discussed in depth during conversations with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Moscow. This discussion reaffirmed the possibility of further activating the two countries' joint efforts in the sphere of an Afghan settlement.

Much depends on the position of Afghanistan's neighbors—Pakistan and Iran. A process of reevaluation, of making official guidelines correspond to Afghan realities, is apparently taking place in Pakistan, albeit slowly and laboriously. By and large, Iran is pursuing a constructive line. In particular, it is stressing the role that countries adjoining the region can play in an Afghan settlement.

Even in the opposition, it must be said, there is a growing awareness of the inevitability of intra-Afghan problems' being solved through dialogue involving the whole spectrum of Afghan political forces. And we are talking about rather extensive opposition circles—from field commanders to moderate leaders of the "Alliance of Seven."

There is therefore every reason to say that entirely realistic prerequisites have now emerged for finally placing the process of achieving national reconciliation and a political settlement in Afghanistan on a practical footing.

The fate of Afghanistan and the Aghhan people is not a matter of indifference to us. I think this is clear. That country is our neighbor, a traditional and close partner. It has ever been so and it will continue to be so. So there is nothing strange in the fact that, although we have withdrawn our forces, the future development of Afghan affairs—whether the will for peace and concord triumphs or that courageous and wise people are doomed to endless, bloody strife—is by no means a matter of indifference to us. I am not giving away a big secret when I say that we have a vision of the optimum model of an Afghan peace settlement, which we have devised in close consultation with the government in Kabul while maintaining contacts with other forces in Afghan society.

The main thing now is not to miss the chance—and the chance is there, no one disputes that—that has emerged in the Afghan drama, to set in motion the process of full intra-Afghan political dialogue. Let me put forward some of our ideas about this.

Like most regional conflicts, the Afghan problem has two distinct aspects—internal and external. Despite all the nuances that characterize the Afghan issue, the internal sphere undoubtedly takes priority. This is understandable: No one can be and no one is in a position to settle the Afghans' own affairs for them. Although, of course, those who are involved in Afghan events in one way or another are obliged to help the Afghans achieve concord. But only help them, not try to impose formulas, let alone state preliminary conditions.

We believe—and this opinion is shared by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan—that the basic elements in an intra-Afghan settlement can be distilled as follows:

One: A broad inter-Afghan dialogue, involving absolutely all the political forces operating inside and outside Afghanistan, must take pride of place in the settlement process. We are talking, in the first place, about those forces which cherish the country's national interests and want the fratricidal war to end as soon as possible. And if the majority of those groupings arrive at a mutual understanding on the commencement of an inter-Afghan dialogue, then the first and most important practical step will have been taken in the solution of the Afghan question.

Since the establishment of an inter-Afghan dialogue is encountering considerable difficulties, we believe that the involvement of the United Nations—an organization that possesses great prestige and experience of such work—would be of considerable significance at the preparatory stage in order to overcome these difficulties.

Two: The appropriate conditions must be created in order to ensure that inter-Afghan dialogue becomes a reality. The cessation of the bloodshed within the country is bound to pay a key role here. We realize that it would most likely be impossible to reach, at a single stroke, an agreement on a complete and definitive cessation of a war that has lasted—even on the basis of pro forma calculations—11 years and, effectively, much longer. That is why it is advisable at the first stage to raise the task of just achieving a pause, the suspension of hostilities.

Three: The program for an intra-Afghan settlement is the central topic of intra-Afghan dialogue. It could, for instance, take the form of an all-Afghan peace conference which would meet in Afghanistan or any third country by agreement among the parties involved.

Four: Of course, the elaboration of a mechanism for an intra-Afghan settlement is a matter for the Afghans themselves. In our view, the well-known plan put forward by the Afghan president at the ninth conference of nonaligned countries' heads of state and government in Belgrade could serve as a good basis for this. This plan outlines the main phases for a settlement and enables them to be given concrete substance. It is characterized by considerable flexibility, which is particularly valuable under current conditions. Thus there is scope for counterinitiatives.

Five: The preservation of the status quo as regards armed forces, the opposing sides' formations, and the territories that are under their control could be one of the principles enshrined in the concept of the "transitional period," which would encompass the time from the convocation of an all-Afghan peace conference to the creation of a broadly representative government in Afghanistan as a result of the Afghan people's free will. In other words, the questions of unified armed forces and a unified administration throughout the country's territory would be postponed until the creation of a broad-based Afghan government. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility of other options coming into play. A great deal will depend on the atmosphere at the conference and the mood among its participants.

Six: Statements by the contracting Afghan parties pledging to acknowledge the results of a general election, and make no attempt to forcibly amend them would definitely promote the aims of establishing general Afghan dialogue and strengthening mutual trust. As for Afghan President Najibullah, he has already issued a statement of this kind at a meeting with journalists in Kabul 24 January 1990.

There is another important element in connection with the elections which should put an end to military confrontation. Existing experience of solving regional conflicts, in particular in Namibia and Nicaragua, shows that when organizing elections of this kind it is very important to guarantee effective international supervision so as to ensure that the elections are truly free and democratic. With regard to Afghanistan, other organizations in addition to the United Nations such as, for instance, the Islamic Conference Organization, could in our view act as observers. It seems appropriate for the Nonaligned Movement—in which Afghanistan is an active participant—to play a role.

Those are in total the "internal" aspects of the settlement. Although in a situation like that in Afghanistan it is very hard to single out "internal" from "external" elements like, for instance, the question of elections under international control. If we have already agreed on this—I would repeat once again—somewhat artificial division, I will now set out our viewpoint on this second group of questions.

The specific nature of the development of the situation in and around Afghanistan and the actual emergence of the Afghan question are associated with the definite involvement in it at various stages of a number of countries, primarily the United States, Pakistan, Iran, and the USSR. The conclusion of the Geneva agreements juridically enshrined the responsibility of the USSR and the United States as guarantors of noninterference in Afghan and Pakistani internal affairs. The main question is to ensure that Pakistan finally takes steps to put an end to this interference from Pakistani territory, and that the Pakistani side fulfills its pledges. The attainment of mutual understanding between the USSR, the United States, Pakistan, and Iran on the main aspects of a political solution of the Afghan problem seems increasingly necessary.

On the basis of these preliminary observations, I will continue setting out our proposals and, in order to give a complete picture, I will continue the same numbering system.

Seven: In light of the importance of reaching a consensus between the Soviet Union, the United States, Pakistan, and Iran, we propose convening a conference of these four countries with the participation of the UN secretary general or his representatives. Geneva, Rome, or Vienna could be chosen as the venue. As we are aware of the difficulties that could arise on Iran's side because of the complexities of its relations with the United States, the Soviet side could offer its services as mediator.

Eight: It is clear, however, that this conference would not have the authority it should if representatives of the opposing Afghan forces were not invited to it: both the Republic of Afghanistan and the opposition in the form of its various groupings.

In this connection, when preparing for the conference it would be worth setting up a working group of experts in order to establish the range of participants and the agenda, and to resolve organizational problems.

Nine: One of the pivotal issues, on which it would be desirable to reach international consensus, is the complete termination of all arms supplies to the warring sides in Afghanistan, regardless of where these supplies come from, and the simultaneous announcement of a pause or halt in military operations. We have raised this with the American side on more than one occasion, as we believed and still believe now that only this kind of comprehensive approach can really bring an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan closer.

Furthermore, in the interests of giving extra backing to measures to completely terminate military supplies, there would be some point in studying the question of removing all existing weapons stockpiles from Afghanistan and bringing no more weapons into the country.

Ten: The termination of arms supplies would be the prologue to the demilitarization of Afghanistan. The relevant international conference could consolidate Afghanistan's status as a neutral, demilitarized state. The USSR would be prepared to play a role—including a material role—in creating an international mechanism to monitor the process of Afghanistan's demilitarization at all stages.

I think there is no need to say that the Soviet Union does not regard these ideas as the only possible platform for resolving the Afghan problem. But we are sure that putting these ideas into practice could really start the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. We are hoping for a constructive reaction from those on whom progress in an Afghan settlement depends. We are also counting on support from the UN secretary general. This would fully accord with the mandate given him by the General Assembly. It is our deep belief that the United Nations has still far from exhausted the solid potential it has with regard to creating the most favorable possible conditions for an Afghan settlement.

For our part, we are ready for constructive exchanges of opinion with the United States, Pakistan, and Iran on all aspects of a settlement in Afghanistan, including practical steps to advance this process. Nor does the Soviet side refuse to enter into a dialogue with the field commanders and leaders of the Peshawar group and other groupings—on the understanding that these contacts will not be wrongly interpreted as our recognition of the "interim government." We are also open to talks with Zahir Shah, his closest associates, and everyone who would like to help to solve the Afghan problem.

I would like to add a few words about a humanitarian issue that is exceptionally important to us: the release of our military servicemen taken prisoner by the Afghan opposition. The Soviet Government and all the Soviet people cannot help but be concerned for the fate of our people, who, a year after the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, are still languishing in captivity. The Foreign Ministry will not consider its mission over until all of our servicemen have been released and reunited with their families. We see this as our sacred duty and direct official responsibility.

Life and memory are indivisible. Dates like this anniversary inevitably predispose us both to thoughts about the ground we have covered to date, and to vigorous action looking to the future. This is the line we intend to follow. The Soviet Union is filled with the desire and determination to do everything possible to ensure that neighboring Afghanistan is once again a peaceful, independent, nonaligned state friendly to all peoples, And to ensure that this bitter, internecine chapter in its history is closed forever.

## Najibullah Makes Proposals To Resolve Conflict

*LD1402224990 Moscow TASS in English 2227 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Kabul February 15 TASS—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan made new proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict. He spoke on Wednesday on Afghan radio and television in connection with the anniversary of the Soviet troop withdrawal and that concluded on February 15, 1989.

Najibullah called the attention of commanders of the opposition to the earlier proposals to form the council and hold elections.

He proposed to convene an All-Afghan National Council in Kabul, or Qandahar, or Jalalabad.

The work of the council can be monitored by a special representative of the United Nations secretary general or official or officials of the U.N. Good Officers Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The president said that to create conditions for the convocation of the council and for its activity, the Afghan leadership proposes a ceasefire or the halting of hostilities. At an initial stage the ceasefire might be proclaimed in separate districts.

It is intended to send delegations from Kabul to Peshawar, Tehran, Quetta and to Europe to exchange opinions with representatives of opposition oraganizations about the ways of political settlement of disputed problems and to pave the ground for the convocation of the council in Afghanistan.

If the opposing side refused to meet such a delegation, a non- government and non-party delegation consisting of influential clergymen and politicians and public figures not associated with the same and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan can be sent there.

Representatives of Afghan groups and organisations, and independent leaders residing abroad are invited to visit Kabul. At the initial stage they are not required to get in contact with representatives of the authorities

They can meet in Kabul with whoever they wish and familiarise themselves with the situation and the public opinion.

Their safety in Kabul and the opportunity to leave the country will be ensured.

If the opposition agrees, it is proposed to form an authoritative mixed commission to study the possibility of freeing Afghan and Soviet prisoners of war kept in detention by both sides.

The Afghan leadership suggests to send an independent group of the Commission on Human Rights into districts controlled by the opposition and by the state.

A separate international group can be formed for control and for the prevention of manufacture and trafficking narcotics.

There are also proposals to develop the economy activity aimed at Afghanistan's restoration.

It was suggested to send goodwill missions of the Republic of Afghanistan to Tehran, Islamabad, Beijing, Washington and other capitals to normalise relations.

Najibullah said that the Republic of Afghanistan highly appreciates the role of the United Nations secretary general in the effort to establish an inter-Afghan dialogue and expresses the readiness to respond to all the United Nations proposals acceptable for the sides involved in the conflict.

## TASS Analyst on Afghan Situation

*LD1402165690 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov:

In strict accordance with the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan a year ago. This seemed to have paved the way to a political settlement of the Afghan conflict, to peace in that war ravaged country.

Alas, the other parties failed to fulfil their commitments despite the Soviet Union's and Afghanistan's scrupulous adherence to the accords. The United States and Pakistan, as well as some other forces did not stop their interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, but stepped them up. Believing Pakistan's special services, Washington concluded that the withdrawal of Soviet troops would weaken the Kabul regime and a few massive rebel attacks would suffice to topple it.

Life has refuted these calculations. Kabul did not fall and the Republic's government not only withstood the enemies violent attacks, but was able to strengthen its influence in the country. Its consistent policy of national reconciliation persuaded practically two thirds of rebel field commanders to stop hostilities against the government. Furthermore, the local population, with which the Afghan Armed Forces maintain close contacts, is siding increasingly with the Kabul authorities and is helping them to carry out operations against the "irreconcilable" opposition which does not want peace and tranquility in the country.

The future attempts of rebels and their patrons to overthrow the Afghan government have sobered up many of their supporters. Though refusing to renounce their final goals, they were compelled to reconsider their tactics and strategy.

LE MONDE recently reported that the vogue for Afghan mujahids was over in Washington, while the press was focusing on their setbacks and internal strife.

The Americans apparently see, the French newspaper says, that the time has come to find some way out of the impasse, since rebel chances for victory are very slim if not completely non-existent.

Najibullah's growing strength and prestige, the UPI notes, compel Washington to alter its policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan and to seek ways for a political settlement instead of a military solution to the problem.... The United States no longer wants Najibullah to step down from the political arena before the peace negotiations begin.

It is pertinent to note that this is not the first time Washington voices its desire to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan, but practical U.S. steps testified to the opposite. It is quite possible that last year's events have really contributed to certain changes in Washington's stand. Noteworthy in any case is the fact that the joint stement issued after James Baker's talks in Moscow admits for the first time that it is necessary to fix a transition period for an inter-Afghan dialogue.

In the light of on-going positive changes throughout the world and progress in Soviet-American relations, it remains to hope that certain changes in the position of the U.S. Administration, which has for the first time recognised the need to hold an inter-Afghan dialogue with the participation of the Najibullah government, will be furthered and that pronouncements in favour of a comprehensive political settlement of regional conflicts on principles of national reconciliation will become more concrete in Washington's policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### 'Concern' Over Armed Actions in Eritrea Noted

*LD1402180790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 14 Feb 90*

["Soviet Government Statement in Connection With the Resumption of Military Actions in the North of Ethiopia"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS)—"The entire history of the armed conflict in Eritrea, which has already lasted almost three decades, shows that it is impossible to resolve it by force. The only realistic way of settling the Eritrean problem is the elaboration of compromise political decisions." This is noted in a statement of the Soviet Government, published here today, in connection with the resumption of military action in Eritrea, Northern Ethiopia.

"Profound regret and concern is evoked by the fact," stated the USSR Government, "that armed actions in Eritrea have resumed after a long period of calm, during which the Ethiopian Government and the Ethiopian National Liberation Front have successfully conducted two rounds of talks, which have cleared the way for businesslike discussion on the substance of an Eritrean settlement."

"The Soviet Government," the document states, "insistently calls for an end to military actions so that an opportunity can be cleared as soon as possible to begin a search at the negotiating table for mutually acceptable forms of national reconciliation."

"People in the Soviet Union are convinced that it is particularly important in the current situation for the international community to actively promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the north of Ethiopia, and to refrain from any actions that could lead to its protraction or, moreover, complication," the USSR Government statement says in conclusion.

### USSR Supports 'Peaceful Resolution' in Eritrea

*AB1202100290 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 10 Feb 90*

[From "East Africa Last Week" program]

[Test] All Soviet advisers have been withdrawn from war zones in Eritrea. That was disclosed recently by the head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information department, Gennadi Gerasimov. It will be recalled that friendship, cooperation and military pacts were signed between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia. According to the military pact, Soviet advisers will help when the Ethiopian Army is threatened by foreign invasion. The situation in the Horn of Africa is still tense. Therefore, the threat of invasion is still there. However, it should be stated that the pact concerns only foreign invasion.

However, the presence of Soviet soldiers in the areas where the Ethiopian revolutionary forces are fighting the rebels has aroused numerous rumors and false information. There cannot be any basis for this? False information. Speaking on the Soviet stand on the internal conflicts in Ethiopia, Gennadi Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union supported any effort made towards a peaceful resolution of the problem.

Although there was some news on peace in Ethiopia last week, most of the news was on the war. The government and the Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front have continued speaking about the victories they have scored in the Gonder and Welo administrative areas. News received from the area is contradictory, which helps us to reach the conclusion that both the government and the rebel sides are suffering heavy human losses. REUTERS quoted an unnamed western diplomat as saying the ethiopian revolutionary Army was capturing more territory and defending its strongholds. But it is far from penetrating deeply into the opposition's territory. This has been confirmed by the news we received from the area this week.

### Gorbachev Sends Congratulations to Mandela

*PM1402155790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1*

[M. Gorbachev message of congratulations to ANC leader N. Mandela]

[Text] To N. Mandela, leader of South Africa's African National Congress

Dear Nelson Mandela!

I congratulate you from the heart on gaining your freedom. We see this long-awaited event as another manifestation of the spirit of the time whereby evil and violence are retreating in the face of justice and solidarity.

I confirm the Soviet Union's unfailing support for the righteous cause of the ANC [African National Congress] and the whole antiapartheid movement in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

I wish you health and success.
M. Gorbachev

## East Europe

### TV Says United Germany Possible 'This Year'

*LD1402175290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] It was announced in the GDR today that Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, will make an official visit to Poland. He will go there at the end of his official visit to the FRG, where he is now.

Many observers are not ruling out the possibility of the creation of a single German stae as early as this year. But of course, let us wait and see. Both countries face many economic and political problems on this road. The talks now taking place in Bonn must assist in resolving them.

### Modrow Discusses Talks With FRG's Kohl

*LD1402200790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The problems of the unification of the two German states and also the planned creation of a monetary and economic union were the main topic of talks held by Hans Modorw, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, during a working visit to the FRG capital which ended today. During the talks, the GDR delegation, which included representatives of all the roundtable participants, cautioned against excessively hasty plans for the creation of a monetary and economic union. Such a union could only be the end result of a fairly lengthy development.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Vladimiir Kondratyev] Hans Modrow's residence was the new Scandic Hotel, on the banks of the Rhine, literally 100 metres from here. This commemorative plaque stands at the very entrance of this avenue, where trees have been planted as a reminder of German lands and cities on the other side of the present border between the FRG and GDR. And it's not just a question of GDR territory, but also such concepts as West Prussia, East Prussia, Schlesien—the Poles say "Silesia"—Danzig, Koenigsberg, Breslau, Gleiwitz, and Oppeln. These names no longer exist, but nevertheless in the FRG this question has not been definitively closed. [video shows Kondratyev on the banks of the Rhine; a plaque with German names of eastern towns and territories; an avenue of trees.]

In the press of journalists, I managed to put a question to Modrow: How did he view the official Bonn position on guarantees of security for Germany's neighbors and the inviolability of borders, and were there any new elements following Kohl's Moscow visit and his own trip there?

[Modrow, in German, with superimposed Russian translation] My impression is that it is important now not to halt efforts to resolve this problem. Yesterday's press conference again showed who has what attitude to the Oder-Neisse border. I set out my position clearly. And I believe that the meetings of the federal chancellor and I had will remain a basis enabling our neighbours to feel confident that the process currently under way between Germans will strengthen peace in our European home. This will not of course happen by itself. We will still have to strive for it. [video shows Modrow, in a throng of journalists, answering Kondratyev's question] [end recording]

### East Germans View Economic, Monetary Union

*LD1402213390 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin February 14 TASS—News organisations and politicians in the German Democratic Republic comment on the results of the visit to West Germany by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow.

Helga Mausch, chairperson of the board of the Association of Free German Trade Unions, said that the association fully solidarises with the view of the GDR prime minister that the unification of the two German states should not burden the population.

The formation of an economic and a monetary union should not mean the dismantling of social gains of the working people in the German Democratic Republic.

Suggesting on the eve of the negotiations to conclude a monetary union without delay, the Bonn government made it plain that it does not intend to conclude with the GDR Government the agreements that will be valid after

March 18, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes. Politicians in Bonn do not want to miss an opportunity to weaken the Modrow government.

Broadcasts of Radio GDR cite statements of citizens who express concern that a prompt conclusion of a monetary and economic union between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany without considering questions of providing pensions and medical aid for the GDR population and solving the destiny of their property and savings, will not be in keeping with the interests of the GDR population and will threaten the destiny of several generations of people.

Noting the importance of continuing the process of unification, a number of people polled doubted that Bonn politicians intend to consider the opinion of the GDR population.

They also said that rumours about alleged insolvency of the GDR are being spread by West Germany in order to bring pressure on the GDR Government.

### Leipzig Pro-Unification Demonstration Noted

*PM1402171290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Calls for Unification"]

[Text] As has become customary in recent months, last Monday evening in Leipzig was the usual time for the mass demonstrations to which the GDR and West Berlin mass media have always devoted great attention. This time, however, both sides gave very scant coverage to the topic, as though they had lost their head when faced with what happened.

The majority of the approximately 80,000 participants in the demonstration in downtown Leipzig, which began by singing "Deutschland Ueber Alles!" were probably united on just one point—their calls for Germany's immediate unification. Some groups advanced an overtly mercenary ultimatum: "If the FRG mark comes to us, we will stay in the GDR; if not, we will go to it ourselves." Others, above all those with extremist sentiments, were settling scores with all the rest, as can be inferred from a photograph in the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND showing young right-wing radicals burning the propaganda materials of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and other parties. A demonstration on roughly the same scale took place in Karl Marx Stadt.

It should be pointed out that both Leipzig and Karl Marx Stadt have emerged in the center of the election struggle arena in the GDR not only thanks to the demonstrations but also thanks to the fact that various parties and groupings have recently been holding a multitude of all sorts of forums there and various FRG politicians very frequently make public speeches there.

### ADN Cited on Reunification Talks in Ottawa

*LD1402202790 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Berlin 14/2/ TASS— The GDR news agency ADN reports:

GDR Premier Welcomes Agreement of Ottawa Foreign Ministers' Meeting (roundup)

Bonn (ADN)—During his two-day working visit to the FRG, which ended on Wednesday, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow always had the effects of the German unification process on European neighbours in mind. The national question could not be separated from international ones, he told journalists.

He therefore welcomed the results of the first NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers' conference in Ottawa which agreed to hold a six-nation meeting on Germany. This was the right way to bring the interests of the two German states and the four World War Two allied victors into line and harmonize the all-European process, he said.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl unfortunately did not show great readiness to deliberate the international impact of German unification.

Modrow's second day in Bonn was packed with business talks centering on monetary union, both Modrow and Kohl had favoured the day before. (ADN)—The joint monetary union was on the agenda, when the GDR premier had two meetings with Federation of German Industry President Tyll Necker and then Federation of German Banks President Wolfgang Roeller.

Modrow also met heads of FRG parliamentary fractions, such as Wolfgang Mischnick (Free Democratic Party) and Theo Waigel (Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union). At the end of the visit was a short talk with Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth.

After ministers' talks, GDR economics minister and vice-premier [words indistinct] with having started the German-German negotiations without a concept. "We are waiting yet for at least half a page of any kind of document from the other side," she told journalists.

Herself and Modrow had clearly pointed out in their talks with politicians and economic leaders "that 16 million GDR citizens were joining the talks," whose interests, fears and concerns were not to be ignored. This was true also with regard to the monetary union.

### Petrovsky Talks With GDR's Neugebauer

*LD1402221390 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky and his East German counterpart Bernhard Neugebauer on Wednesday discussed issues related to multilateral diplomacy.

They pointed to the need to improve and strengthen the existing international structures as guarantors of stability in the conditions of changes in the world.

The sides also called for a more active involvement of multilateral mechanisms and collectively-developed international standards in efforts to solve many problems, including those having prime internal political importance.

## SPD, West European Social Democrats Confer

*PM1402143990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Feb 90 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the rubric "In East European Countries": "Meeting in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin, 8 Feb—"Europe is our future" was the slogan of a meeting involving the leaders of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] (GDR), the union of EEC countries' socialist and social democratic parties, and the European Parliament's socialist faction. The meeting was held in Berlin Wednesday. Those participating discussed the situation in the two German states, along with the development of the European unity process.

In his welcome speech, I. Boehme, secretary of the SPD (GDR), described this meeting as a demonstration of European social democrats' solidarity. He indicated that the strength of the SPD, which was set up in the GDR four months ago, has risen to 80,000 people. Our party knows that after the 18 March election it must assume responsibility together with other democratic forces for the GDR's domestic, foreign, and social policy. The SPD, I. Boehme continued, advocates a united, free, socially just Germany which neighboring states will not fear.

Guy Spitaels, chairman of the union of EEC socialist and social democratic parties, announced that he would propose that the union's congress admit the SPD (GDR) to its ranks as an observer.

H.-J. Vogel, chairman of the SPD (FRG), advocated immediately organizing cooperation between the two German states, in particular in the sphere of the economy, currency relations, the environment, transport, and culture. The FRG must contribute to this, he noted.

Representatives of the Dutch, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Danish social democratic parties who spoke at the meeting stressed that the unification of the two German states must take place within the framework of the European process and European integration.

## Shakin on CSSR Troop Withdrawal Agreement

*LD1402172990 Moscow International Service in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] As you know, the question of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia has been coordinated. Here is a comment by Moscow Radio commentator Aleksandr Shakin:

The question of the withdrawal of military units from Czechoslovakia and also from other Eastern European countries was in fact basically solved much earlier. It is our new approach, our attempt to improve the international situation, and above all the situation in Europe. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned reasons of a moral nature also exist here. We have openly admitted that the action of 1968 was a political mistake.

Since that time, however, our troops have been on Czechoslovak territory. Logic and morality demand that they must now be withdrawn. The question of when has arisen. The first stage of talks began, if it can be put this way, under the pressure of emotions from meetings in Prague and other towns, the participants of which demanded the adoption measures. Czechoslovak representatives insisted on a complete withdrawal during the course of this year. The Soviet side spoke of difficulties of a technical and humanitarian nature. After all, it concerns the movement of a large contingent, and these are not just people with epaulettes, but also their families, wives and children. For example about 30,000 officers' families, 20,000 children are to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. All the necessary facilities must be made available to them on Soviet territory, first and foremost, homes and schools.

As you know, the first round of talks did not bring a result. But the most important thing remained: mutual understanding and effort on the part of both sides to come to meet each other. This also decided on the outcome. As a result of the second round and the personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev to President Vaclav Havel, the standpoints have been coordinated. Czechoslovakia will not insist on its requirement that a complete withdrawal should take place in a shortened time period and it agreed that this cannot take place by 1991.

## Communists Dismissed in CSSR TV Shake-up

*LD1402200590 Moscow International Service in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] A TASS correspondent has disclosed from Prague that at today's evening session of the government of the CSSR a document will be endorsed which is entitled: A Special Regime in Czechoslovak Television. This has been confirmed by the director general of Czechoslovak Television, Jindrich Fairaizl, who spoke at today's meeting of the television workers in Prague. He announced that in the course of two months 2,000 employees will be dismissed, about 1,200 in Prague and 800 in Bratislava. Marian Calfa, federal premier, announced this decision to the director general of Czechoslovak Television last Friday. The list of employees who came under the special regime should be prepared by the end of February.

Television journalists are concerned that the dismissed will find themselves in a difficult situation as they know they will not be given the usual advantages which are given when the number of employees is reduced. Dismissed television employees will practically remain without means if they do not find themselves new jobs within two months. Such special measures are officially explained by saying that the government has no funds to finance television. Many people however believe that this is only a pretext for clearing the television of Communists. This is shown also by the appeals at today's assembly to ged rid of old structures. Former head of television, Mr. Pavel, who was forced to leave, and former director general of Czechoslovakia Radio, Mr. Stary, also seem to be included in this category. Ales Benda, director general of the CTK, submitted his notice today to the Czechoslovak premier. They all are members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

## Paper on CSSR Loyalty Tests for Newsmen

*PM1402145390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[V. Rzhevskiy dispatch: "Czechoslovakia: Loyalty Tests"]

[Text] Prague—The last few days abounded with important events and new developments in the CSSR's political life. As of today, the country no longer has a counterintelligence service. Almost all its former staffers have been sent home, a TASS correspondent reports.

In compliance with an order of the CSSR minister of internal affairs, they have surrendered their warrants and personal weapons, and their official premises have been sealed. State security professionals are now killing time by their telephones at home so as to promptly answer checking-up calls. Otherwise, unpleasantness would be unavoidable.

Foreign journalists were yesterday given a guided tour of the building where this service used to operate. The future of former counterintelligence staffers will be decided by verification commissions which will soon embark on a purge of this apparatus which is already at a standstill.

Journalists also face tough trials. Speaking on Central Television yesterday, Frantisek Pavlicek, general director of Czechoslovak Radio (also a writer and playwright), ordered tests of the loyalty of mass media workers to the country's present leadership. He admitted that, at his friends' request, he has taken on a difficult task aimed at—judging by his statement—purges and mass dismissals of unsuitable journalists for various reasons, but primarily for belonging to the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. K. Weinlich, "Civic Forum" representative on the radio, introduced the new general director to television viewers as a guarantor of democratic processes in radio broadcasting.

Judging by the available information, such "guarantors" will soon be legalized by the Federal Assembly, whose sitting will discuss and adopt measures to "regulate the activity of Czechoslovak journalism."

The CSSR Government examined topical economic problems at its sitting yesterday. The Czechoslovak proposal for reform of cooperation within the CEMA framework was discussed. Speaking to journalists, V. Dlouhy, deputy chairman of the CSSR Government, emphasized that Czechoslovakia does not intend to abandon a market like the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia, he declared, will demand the opening up of this market and the availability of direct access to the Soviet market without the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] as a middleman. In his words, the Czechoslovak economy's current difficulties should not be associated with recent political and cadre changes.

In the last few days there has been increasingly loud talk here about a shortage of oil, whose main supplier is the USSR. Disruptions in oil deliveries have give rise to a whole stream of alarming reports in the press, and a television program was devoted to this topic. There is a swelling wave of rumors that gasoline prices will rise sharply. It is, moreover, concluded that the Soviet Union is—of course—to blame for everything.

Yesterday's sitting of the Republic's supreme representative organ—the Slovak National Council—recalled 45 parliamentarians from office. They were replaced by 42 newly co-opted deputies (three deputies will be elected later), including 19 representatives of the Republic's leading political force at the present stage—the "Public Against Violence" Association. As a result of this reorganization of the Republic's 150-seat parliament, Communists henceforth have only 65 seats. The CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] has lost its majority in parliament for the first time since coming to power in February 1948.

R. Suster, speaker of the Slovak parliament, announced that work is beginning to rehabilitate all those who were illegally repressed in connection with the events of 1968 and during the preceding 20 years. Addressing the sitting, A. Dubcek, speaker of the CSSR Federal Assembly, warned against the dangers of the "witch hunt," in other words political vengeance, which is accompanying the present process of social development in the country.

He also declared that the numerous proposals by Western capital ought to be approached with extreme caution to prevent the CSSR getting bogged down in debt.

### Czechoslovak Poll Puts Communists Second

*PM1302150390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent S. Vtorushin dispatch under the rubric "Among Our Friends: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "CSSR"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Feb—A law on political parties has been adopted in Czechoslovakia. It specifically provides that a party can be registered only if a petition to begin its activity is signed by at least 1,000 citizens. Moreover, the party's rules and name must be filed with the relevant organs and its program goals must be indicated.

New parties continue to emerge in the country. They include a social democratic party, three peasant parties at once, a "green" party, and many others. They all will struggle for parliamentary seats during the free elections due to be held in June this year. But, in order to win the right to be represented in parliament, a party will have to gain at least five percent of the votes. Sociological studies conducted in the last few days indicate that the social movements "Civic Forum" and "Public Against Violence" enjoy the greatest popularity. If elections were to be held today, their representatives would win 29 percent of the vote. The Communist Party comes in second. It was backed by 9.4 percent of those polled. Next come the Socialist Party and the People's Party with 8.1 and 7.8 percent, respectively. The elections are still far in the future, and the correlation of forces between the political parties could change substantially. Specifically, it cannot be ruled out that the Communists could gain greater support, especially since about 20 percent of voters have yet to decide who to vote for.

### East European Democratic Forum in Vilnius

*LD0502111490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 4 Feb 90*

[Summary] A Forum of Democratic Forces of East Europe opened in Vilnius today. Representatives from Moscow, Leningrad, other republics of the USSR, as well as representatives from independent trade unions, workers unions, the Polish "Solidarity", the Czechoslovak "Citizens forum", and the "Democratic Forum" of Hungary took part in the forum.

The forum was organized by Sajudis. The main issues to be discussed were: problems related to setting up an independent press, the workers movement, the armed forces, youth, and other topics.

The issue of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party will also be discussed at the forum.

## West Europe

### FRG'S Bahr on Problems of German Unification

*LD1402220290 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] West Berlin February 14 TASS—German unity was a historical issue. Now it is a real problem, said Egon Bahr, prominent West German politician, member of the board of the Social Democratic Party.

Undoubtedly, there is concern in both parts of Germany over stormy developments, Bahr told TASS.

In West Germany there is concern above all over the social consequences of unification and related "financial sacrifices" by Western Germans.

In the German Democratic Republic there are fears that their products will not be competitive with West German products and, as a consequence, there will be massive unemployment.

"I believe Germany must never threaten the security of other peoples, including its close neighours who are weaker and smaller than the Soviet Union. Therefore a united Germany should be included in the structure of European security," Bahr said.

The practical task is to create structures in the centre of Europe, in a united Germany, to ensure security of the common European home. This process should constantly be under control.

Bahr expressed the confidence that the process of Germany's unification can serve the interests of European unity.

### Falin, Delegation Visit European Parliament

*LD1302101890 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Text] Strasbourg February 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sorokin:

The current visit of a Soviet parliamentary delegation to the European Parliament is a specific step towards building a common European home, which was described by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev here last summer, said European Parliament Chairman Enrique Baron.

The Soviet delegation, which is led by Soviet parliamentarian and head of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee International Department Valentin Falin, arrived in Strasbourg to participate in the second interparliamentary meeting.

Welcoming the delegation, Baron noted that in order to build a common European home, a solid basis should be laid with parliamentary democracy as its cornerstone. He welcomed Soviet democratic changes and said that the European Communities should contribute to the consolidation of peaceful cooperation with the USSR and other central and East European countries.

Baron noted that the European Parliament has begun the political rapprochement with these countries. However economic and financial cooperation are also needed. These problems must be solved within the framework of the Helsinki process.

The European Communities call for a summit meeting of member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

During the current meeting, the sides will discuss a wide range of issues. Soviet parliamentarians will inform their European colleagues on the implementation of political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union. Europarliament deputies will tell them about integration in the European Communities and the creation of a single internal market of the Community by 1993.

They will discuss in detail the state and prospects for the development of relations between the European Communists and the Soviet Union, including cooperation in environmental protection, power engineering, transport, tourism, scientific research, culture and education.

The meeting will focus on the political future of Europe, prospects for the convocation of the Helsinki-2 meeting and the reunification of Germany.

Europarliament Deputy from the Social Democratic Party of Germany Magdalene Hoff told TASS that they attach great importance to the current meeting. They are glad that efforts of Soviet and European Parliament members to consolidate peace and develop cooperation in Europe are entering a new phase, she noted.

### Medvedev Delegation's London Visit Reported

*PM1402150990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] London, 12 Feb—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by USSR people's deputy V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is on a visit here, spent yesterday acquainting itself with the London business world and examining ways of intensifying contacts between the USSR and Britain in the economic and financial spheres.

During a conversation with the leaders of the "Three-I Group," one of the biggest investment companies in the world, which has already been in business for around 45 years, the British side expressed a willingness, given the proper guarantees, to engage in mutually advantageous cooperation with Soviet partners in order to assist socioeconomic transformations in the USSR.

The prospects for collaboration between the two countries' business circles were also discussed during a visit to the famous London Stock Exchange. Life, V.A. Medvedev stressed, is making us revise our former ideas about institutions like this one, which are in reality flexible economic instruments and achievements of world civilization. Expressing the Soviet leadership's conviction that the USSR national economy needs to move in the direction of creating effective market mechanisms, he reacted positively to offers of assistance from his British interlocutors in organizing a similar economic institution in the Soviet Union, where objective conditions are ripe for such a step.

On the same day the Soviet delegation members were guests of the "Lloyds Bank" insurance company.

In the evening they met with leaders and employees of the Bank of England, who talked about its history and current functions and areas of activity.

A reception was organized at the USSR Embassy in Britain in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation. It was attended by eminent British parliamentarians from various political parties, public figures, and representatives of the business world.

### Delegates Discuss Visit

*LD1302102190 Moscow TASS in English 0909 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Text] London February 13 TASS—The visit to Britain by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Soviet Communist Party ideology chief Vadim Medvedev helped Soviet legislators understand how the British Parliament worked, members of the delegation told TASS.

"This was largely a get-acquainted tour," Soviet deputy N. Shmelev said.

"We had a broad exchange of opinions. We tried to understand how the British Parliament works and what of its practices can be useful for us. We have lots of impressions and they are mostly constructive."

Speaking about meetings with business representatives, Shmelev said they all showed interest in forging bilateral ties with the Soviet Union.

"As far as I can judge, they were very benevolent. Business representatives showed an interest and were eager to help us tackle economic tasks," he said.

"They offered concrete help. On the whole this was a very useful trip."

"This is my first visit abroad," Deputy N. Molotkov said.

"It was very interesting to visit the British Parliament. I heard so much. We could see the prime minister answer M.P.'s [members of Parliament] questions. We don't have this practice and I believe, if accepted, it won't do any harm. We learnt a lot from British parliamentary experience. We had many meetings with British members of parliament and found many points of mutual advantage."

"In Cardiff, I saw a member of parliament meet his electors. The questions discussed were similar to those I have to tackle as a deputy—housing shortages, leaking roofs, dirty streets, etc. There are problems everywhere. I have lots and lots of impressions, and they are very favourable."

"I believe one of the most important impressions from the visit is the increasing sense of my involvement in political processes in the Soviet Union and in inter-parliamentary dialogue," Deputy R. Ubaydullaeva said.

"I have a growing sense that deputies are no longer separated into privates and marshals. Much depended on the activity of every member of the delegation," she said.

"We really have to learn from our British colleagues' professionalism and easy-going manners. I also learned a lot of things that will help me work in the commission I am a member of. I forged contact with members of parliament, specialising in social issues, including women's equality. We had a very intensive programme and most arrangements proved very thought-provoking."

"This was a very important trip," Deputy K. Lubchenko said.

"Our parliament is now preparing a new constitution and several political bills. I got several useful ideas that could help in drafting bills and my work in the Supreme Soviet."

Lubchenko said British members of Parliament backed the idea of setting up an international parliamentarians' club, where lawmakers from different countries could discuss important problems informally at workshops and conferences.

"We have to learn a lot now to reach the world level of political culture," he said.

### Moiseyev Visits Finnish Air Force Detachment

*LD1402025790*

[Editorial Report] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2130 GMT on 13 February in its "Roundup on USSR Contacts" notes, "Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, USSR first deputy minister of defense, who is in Finland on an official visit, made a trip around the country on Tuesday. The Soviet military commander visited the Karjala Wing of the ground forces and visited one of the air detachments of Finland's Air Force. He acquainted himself with the ways of life and military training of Finnish servicemen."

### Belgium's Coeme Tours Units Near Moscow

*PM1402142990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Feb 90 First Edition p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Guests of Soviet Soldiers"]

[Text] Belgian National Defense Minister G. Coeme, who is paying an official visit to our country, visited an air unit in Kubinka 8 February. The guest was familiarized with combat hardware and attended flight demonstrations.

The same day G. Coeme visited the Yu.V. Andropov Kantemirovka Guards Tank Division, where he was familiarized with the life and living conditions of Soviet soldiers.

Belgium's national defense minister was accompanied by Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### CPSU Delegation Arrives in Costa Rica

*LD1302231490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Text] San Jose, 13 Feb (TASS)—A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.I. Litvintsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tula Oblast Party Committee, has arrived here at the invitation of a number of political parties. At the Costa Rican airport, the CPSU delegation was met by members of the leadership of the Costa Rican People's Party and the Popular Vanguard of Costa Rica Party, and also by V. Rozanov, USSR ambassador to Costa Rica.

The members of the Soviet delegation will hold meetings with prominent politicians and public figures in Costa Rica.

### TASS Reports on Soviet-Cuban Trade Figures

*LD1202155390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 12 Feb 90*

[Summary] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Cuba, TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda quotes the following figures:

Some 70 percent of all Cuban trade is with the USSR. Just last year, the USSR supplied Cuba with 1.9 million tonnes of food, more than 1 million tonnes of fertilizer, and more than 1 million tonnes of heavy metallurgy items. Currently, 80 percent of all Cuban means of transportation were manufactured in the USSR. In turn, Cuba exports to the USSR 80 percent of all the sugar it produces and 40 percent of its citrus harvest. The sugar imports from Cuba meet 30 percent of the Soviet demand, while the citrus import meets more than 50 percent. The annual trade turnover between the two countries has grown over the past 30 years from 160 million up to almost 8.5 billion [not further specified]. For example, while "at the beginning" the USSR supplied Cuba with two million tonnes of oil and petroleum products, "now this figure has gone up to 13 million tonnes." Since 1960, the USSR has provided Cuba with six billion rubles in the form of credits for economic development, including R2.5 billion in the current five-year plan period.

# Supreme Soviet Session

## TASS Coverage of 15 Feb Supreme Soviet Session

### Property Laws To Be Discussed

*LD1502062190 Moscow TASS in English 0430 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Today, in the Kremlin, the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its work. At a joint sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities it will open at 1000 [0700 GMT]. The deputies will begin their lawmaking activity. The reports on laws on property and on land will be heard.

### Abalkin Presents New Property Bill

*LD1502074890 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—The Soviet parliament, which opened its session in Moscow on Wednesday, started a second reading of the bill on property early today. Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin is delivering a report.

The joint meeting of the two chambers is chaired by First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin has presented to deputies a new version of the property bill.

The draft, he said, proceeds from the recognition of the diversity of forms of property, their equal and competitive nature. This principle, Abalkin said, should be upheld as state policy, destroying the simplified view of one form of ownership as the best one—state, leaseholding or individual.

The bill lays down the provision that various forms of socialist ownership form the basis of the Soviet socioeconomic system. It stands firm however on the inadmissibility of the exploitation of man by man.

The bill allows ownership by individuals, collectives, state and variants thereof. A special section deals with the legal status of ownership of joint ventures, foreign citizens, organisations and states.

Abalkin noted that it was decided not to include the term "private property" in the new version, because it is unequivocal from the scientific point of view. Moreover, society has a negative attitude to the term "private property." At the same time the bill allows ownership by citizens of some capital goods. For example, a farmer can own a tractor and other agricultural equipment.

The speaker did not agree with press attacks on state ownership made in the course of the discussion. He said it is required but in a radically renovated form. The bill provides for a three-tier structure of state ownership: all-union, republican and communal.

During work on the new version of the bill, consensus was not reached on all positions. The deputy prime minister said there was no agreement on who should own land and natural resources: the union or republics. It is suggested that the issue be put off until after the problems of the Soviet federation are solved and write into the law only that land and its resources "belong to people living on a given territory."

The deputy prime minister called on the deputies to consider this urgent issue in a balanced and careful way so as not to disrupt the frail balance between many points of view that has been reached in the course of prolonged preparatory work.

## Moscow TV Carries Supreme Soviet Coverage 14 Feb

### Discussion of Agenda Begins

*LD1402191890*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1745 GMT on 14 February continues its recorded relay of the 14 February Supreme Soviet preceedings in the Kremlin. A screen caption announces the afternoon session.

Gorbachev asks deputies to take their seats. The debate on the agenda will now begin. Gorbachev reminds deputies of the time limits specified in the standing orders for speakers and questioners. The deputies are then called upon to register their presence by pressing the voting buttons; 453 deputies are present.

At 1748 GMT Deputy Abasov from Azerbaijan comes to the rostrum and asks about the legality of the Armed Forces intervention in Baku and calls for a commission to investigate the events. He also calls for a Supreme Soviet debate on the question. Gorbachev says that deputies are supposed to be discussing the agenda.

At 1752 GMT Academician Velikhov speaks. He recommends deputies to look into a deputies' report on the entrepreneurial spirit in the USSR. Deputy Shekhovtsov then talks about the working accomodation of deputies, which is inadequate. He proposes that a day should be allocated to such material working conditions. He is also concerned about the degree of contact with his constituents.

At 1756 GMT Deputy Kirillov talks about the office of president, linking it with the power of the party, which is unparallelled in democratic countries. What about the military men, who are not allowed to join a party?

At 1759 GMT Deputy Boyars states that no Soviet people is currently free of the fear of unrest and bloodshed. He is concerned at the immense power that it is proposed to give the KGB and MVD troops to deal with the unrest. They are not, after all, accountable to the Supreme Soviet, he points out. Perhaps it is time to restore sovereignty to the Baltic republics. The issue must be faced and discussed by the Supreme Soviet, he concludes.

At 1802 GMT Deputy Sobchak raises the issue of events in the Transcaucasus. The matter is urgent and must be discussed irrespective of exactly who is present, he says. The issue of the presidency is so important that careful preparation is called for, yet there is a proposal to discuss it at an extraordinary congress in two weeks' time. He thinks the congress should not be convened until May. He also thinks that a National Security Council should be set up.

AT 1806 GMT Deputy Natanaytis broaches the issue of Lithuanian independence. He thinks that it should be included in the agenda. The issue of a restoration of Lithuanian statehood is often distorted, and the issue must be clarified urgently, he believes.

At 1809 GMT Deputy Lauristiin says that the issue of Baltic independence can be settled through civilized discussion. She proposes that the issue be prepared in the current Supreme Soviet session. Perhaps Shevardnadze should be involved in this work, she suggests.

At 1812 GMT Deputy Sazonov makes the point that all are accountable to the law, including the highest leaders. Yazov is responsible for moving troops into Georgia, for example. He urges that the whole Politburo must be made responsible for the actions they take.

At 1814 GMT Deputy Azarov says that presidential rule is necessary; the firmness of such rule would buttress perestroyka.

Deputy Pilnikov then says that the referendum draft must be speeded up to resolve many of the country's problems.

At 1819 GMT Deputy Yefimov says that the law on land must be considered as well as calls for legal protection against racial incitement. Discipline must also be strengthened to make the economy more efficient.

Deputy (?Sharonov) produces further arguments in favor of a strong presidency.

At 1825 GMT Deputy Kozin, as an ordinary deputy not a member of any committee, complains about the confusing nature of the issues under debate. Article 6 of the constitution must be restricted, so that political reform can take place, leading to economic reform, which is the crucial issue facing the country at the moment, he says.

At 1829 GMT Deputy Popov says that the decisions of the Supreme Soviet lag behind the events taking place outside it. The laws passed have to fit the varied conditions in the different republics, leading to great complications. Further consideration needs to be given to the division of powers between the union and the republics. The Supreme Soviet must try to be ahead of events rather than following in their wake.

## Deputies Touch on Issues

*LD1402200890*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1834 GMT on 14 February continues its recorded relay of the 14 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin.

Deputy Bisers says that he is in favor of presidential rule, but he says that this must not lead to more of the "strong" decisions that have generated the Tbilisi and Baku situations. He suspects that the extraordinary congress is being convened too soon and urges that work on a bill on the status of the Supreme Soviet be worked out properly first.

At 1839 GMT Deputy Mirzoyan from Armenia calls for the agenda to include discussion of damage caused to one republic by an economic blockade imposed by another. He cites data on problems caused by Armenia by the Azerbaijani blockade. Economic independence for republics means that violations of it must be punished, he insists.

At 1842 GMT Deputy Stadnik is called to the floor. Gorbachev makes a procedural point, followed by Stadnik's contribution. Stadnik regrets the absence of a clear concept anywhere in the country and complains that there are no legal guarantees of a people's deputy status. He calls for a forecasting institute to warn of crises in the republics and raises in quick succession a few other matters which concern him.

At 1848 GMT Deputy Larionov calls for clarification of terminology concerning nationalities and urges a special session of the Soviet of Nationalities on the issue.

Deputy Romanenko says workers are complaining that the Supreme Soviet is not discussing matters of immediate concern to them; they are more interested in law and order than the question of presidential government. Chernobyl should be higher up the agenda than it is, for example.

At 1854 GMT Deputy Stankevich reads out a statement from the Inter-regional Group calling for, inter alia, parliamentary supervision of the executive branch.

At 1857 GMT Deputy Bocharov asks deputies to consider whether they have achieved anything in the year since they were elected. All laws depend on a clear statement that the USSR is precisely what its initials stand for.

At 1901 GMT Deputy Rogatin raises the state of the country's health service and recalls discussion of the government's health program in the relevant Supreme Soviet committee.

Deputy Miroshin then rasies the issue of responsibility of government members in connection with the ANT cooperative affair. The question of confidence in unidentified government members involved in the affair should be put on the agenda.

At 1906 GMT Deputy Belyayev calls for time to be found for discussion of school reform.

Deputy Boldyrev believes that the extraordinary congress session should be discussed separately. While Deputy Likhanov calls for ratification of the international convention on children's rights.

At 1910 GMT Deputy Lopatin, in naval uniform, raises the unilateral Soviet arms reductions and urges that arms production be reduced accordingly. The fact that it is not being so cut suggests that somebody is deceiving them. He calls for discussion of preparations for military reform.

At 1914 GMT Deputy Shapovalenko talks about increases in the price of gold, which the "trading mafia" knew about before people's deputies did. The Supreme Soviet must stand up for its rights, he declares.

At 1916 GMT Deputy Podziruk regrets that the Armed Forces are not mentioned in the agenda. He calls for the composition of the Defense Council to be discussed.

At 1918 GMT Deputy Dadamyan from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast says that Tbilisi and Baku are quite different issues. With Baku, the real issue is why the Army went in so late. If democracy is responsible for the racial bloodshed, then Dadamyan says taht he must be accounted an enemy of democracy.

At 1920 GMT Deputy Yanayev says that, naturally, each deputy wishes to includ in the agenda the issues of particular relevance to him. If things go on as they are, there will be far more refugees. Apart from racial issues, the economy must be thoroughly debated. These are the key issues. The USSR may fall apart while all the talking is going on. On the Presidency, Yanayev says that a quick decision is needed, otherwise the people will tire of the chaos and hesitation, and make the decision themselves.

## Issues To Be Handled in 'Blocks'

*LD1402233290*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1924 GMT on 14 February continues its recorded relay of the 14 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin. Gorbachev begins his summing-up.

He says that the discussion has been useful; it must be used as the basis for further work. Negative forces are at work in the country He asks where the republican governments were when the Army went in? The matter of the presidency must be decided without any further hesitation and petty bargaining, he concluded.

At 1934 GMT Gorbachev announces a break. The recorded relay continues.

At 1935 GMT Gorbachev opens the evening session. He proposes to report on the presidium's deliberations on the agenda. There is a list of 20 questions that have been identified for inclusion. These can be grouped into three blocks of related issues. One deals with the land question and economic issues. The second contains questions about the development of the federation. The third deals with questions about draft laws designed to combat crime. It is hard to deal with the division of functions between the union and the union republics without first settling the question of land ownership. The session's work should therefore begin in the Supreme Soviet chambers. The Soviet of the Union will look at block one. The Soviet of Nationalities will examine the functions and powers of the union and the union republics. This will include the question of leaving the union, economic management and the Baltic issue. This will happen tomorrow.

At 1940 GMT on the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan, Gorbachev suggests that the Supreme Soviet should return to this matter in a few days' time. In the meantime, it should not feature on the agenda. The Presidium will look at the issues submitted for discussion and report back to the Supreme Soviet.

At 1942 GMT he turns to the issue of the convening of an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, Gorbachev says that the presidium took the view that it was essential to hold such a congress. The date can be decided later. Should this question be included in the agenda or not? A vote will soon be taken.

At 1944 GMT Gorbachev turns to the question of media coverage of the Supreme Soviet's proceedings, and outlines the possibilities.

At 1948 GMT Deputy Sokolov asks that Chernobyl should be included in the agenda. Gorbachev says that Chernobyl will be made question No. 21 and linked with the question of economic development.

At 1950 GMT An Azerbaijani deputy calls for the Supreme Soviet to make a full political assessment of the events in Azerbaijan as a matter of urgency. Gorbachev agrees that the issue must be discussed, but not immediately.

At 1952 GMT Gorbachev proceeds to a vote on how the blocks of questions are to be handled. After the deputies have re-registered (457 in number), the vote is taken on whether to proceed in the way Gorbachev has outlined (discussing blocks of questions together). Result: For, 286; against, 54; abstained, 84.

At 1956 GMT deputies raise procedural matters about how best to organize the work of the full session and the committees and commisions.

At 2001 GMT Gorbachev calls for a vote on tackling the 21 questions in the way suggested. Result: For, 350; against, 54; abstained, 33.

AT 2005 GMT Gorbachev calls on an Azerbaijani deputy to clarify the position of his delegation. He calls for a political assessment of the events in Baku and the identification of the persons responsible. Gorbachev says that he thinks that the events in the southern republic could all be discussed together.

### Media Coverage Debated

*LD1402233990*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2011 GMT on 14 February continues its recorded relay of the 14 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin.

A deputy from Armenia says that there must be a full discussion of the interethnic violence.

At 2014 GMT a deputy says that it is necessary to identify the persons who are guilty of the excesses. Another deputy speaks. Gorbachev sums up: Either they discuss the situation in the south only, or they discuss the situation in the USSR as a whole. He puts the matter to a vote. Result: For, 352; against, 33; abstained, 33. Amid some confusion, Gorbachev says the matter is decided.

At 2018 GMT another deputy says there can be no economic reform without political reform. Gorbachev replies that there is a misunderstanding: Political reform is under discussion; it is not being ignored, and it is happening.

At 2020 GMT Deputy Filshin says that they never vote on anything that the floor supports wholeheartedly. Gorbachev takes issue with him. Then he turns to the issues of the convening of an extraordinary congress. He proposes that it should be held. The date can be discussed at greater length. Gorbachev appears to become rather annoyed by the constant going around in circles. He calls for a vote on not renewing the discussion of the extraordinary congress. Result: For, 241; against, 160; abstained, 32.

At 2026 GMT Deputy Logunov makes a brief proposal. Gorbachev puts the Presidium's proposed agenda, which includes discussion of the extraordinary congress, to a vote. Result: For, 216. At this point, Gorbachev makes a correction to this formulation. He asks who wants to include discussion of the holding of an extraordinary congress. Vote: For, 304; against, 95; abstained, 34.

At 2031 GMT Gorbachev reviews the questions raised by deputies during the debate. He says that the Presidium should look at all these issues and discuss them, and then report back to the Supreme Soviet. He puts this suggestion to a vote. Result: For, 300; against, 54; abstained, 45.

At 2036 GMT Gorbachev invites views from the floor on how long should the third session of the Supreme Soviet last? A deputy says that all the deputies are involved in electioneering. He calls for a break after a certain period of parliamentary activity. He calls for a vote on whether the session should last from 14 February to 25 April. Result: For 353; against, 34; abstained, 22.

At 2039 GMT Gorbachev turns to tomorrow's discussion on property and land, which could then be followed by debate. The hall acquiesces. What about television coverage? A deputy distinguishes between full coverage and an edited version. He also draws attention to the R100 million cost of massive broadcasting of the Supreme Soviet to all parts of the country. Another deputy says that it is odd that additional coverage is given to the Central Committee plenum, whereas it is proposed to reduce coverage of the Supreme Soviet.

At 2043 GMT a deputy says that a mixture of the two kinds of coverage is appropriate. Another deputy says that edited versions represent a retreat from glasnost. Who does the editing? Another deputy says that not all the parliamentary techniques have been properly mastered by the Supreme Soviet's deputies. Much could be dropped from media coverage. Another deputy draws attention to the time lag: The eastern parts of the country would benefit from live coverage. Another deputy says that most people think that the Supreme Soviet is the country's most influential body.

At 2049 GMT another deputy proposes that there is no need to discuss the cost of broadcasting the Supreme Soviet's proceedings. It is useful, and TV broadcasting goes on anyway. The Supreme Soviet is a school of democracy for the whole country.

At 2050 GMT a deputy moves on to the change in people's awareness: They now think that someone is trying to "fix" things. He suggests that coverage of full sessions should stay as at present.

At 2052 GMT Gorbachev says that it is alleged that little coverage is given to the work of the committees and commissions. He moves to a vote on increasing committee coverage and leaving the main coverage unchanged. Result: For, 389; against, 11; abstained, 17.

At 2055 GMT Gorbachev announces an end to today's proceedings.

The recorded relay ends.

### TASS Covers Supreme Soviet Agenda Discussion

*LD1402114190 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Deputies attending the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have put about 50 issues on the agenda, saying 20 issues are of top priority.

Presenting a list of issues suggested for discussion by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov said the session is expected to continue until late April.

The session will have to be adjourned for the emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, which is scheduled for February 27.

The congress is expected to amend constitutional articles on the role of the Communist Party and other public organisations and on property ownership.

It is also expected to pass amendments regulating the powers of supreme state bodies in connection with the proposal to institute the post of a popularly-elected president.

In a [words indistinct] agenda are designed to promote political reforms and move the country down the road to democracy and political openness, including bills on public associations, trade union rights, on the mass media and exit and entry regulations, according to the vice-president.

Deputies then began to debate the agenda.

### Debates Continue

*LD1402152990 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The agenda debate was influenced by the aggravation of inter-ethnic relations in the country. Many deputies insisted that the bill on heightened responsibility for encroachments upon the national equality of citizens and forceable violation of Soviet territorial integrity should be discussed among the first items (it is now 19th on the draft agenda).

The views of Armenian and Azerbaijanian delegates clashed again, as on several occasions in the past. They assessed from diametrically opposite positions the emergency situation in Azerbaijan after the anti-Armenian pogroms there are month ago. Azerbaijanian deputies demanded that the question of the legality of the entry of troops into Baku be included in the agenda. They accused the army of resorting to "anti-humane actions." This view was rebuffed by the representative of Nagorno-Karabakh region.

Armenian Deputy Melania Mirzoyan moved to include in the agenda the question of Azerbaijan's economic responsibility for the damage caused to Armenia by the railway blockade which placed the republic in an extremely difficult situation.

Representatives of the Baltic republics insisted the session should discuss the question of restoring the sovereignty and independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on the grounds that legal acts on their accession to the USSR were ruled null and void by their parliaments.

Several deputies believe the Supreme Soviet lacks a concrete conception not only of the session proceedings, but of perestroyka as a whole. This is why the agenda is overburdened, they believe. Gavriil Popov moved to give priority attention to the problem of national structure and national self-administration. He believes that many items of the agenda will automatically come under the competence of local authorities after the election of local and republican councils.

Mikhail Bocharov agreed. He moved to leave just one question on the agenda—the national and state structure of the USSR.

Some suggestions concerning the agenda were unprecedentedly sharp. Thus, Tatarian Deputy Nikilay Sazonov moved to hear reports by party and state leaders, including members of the Politburo, on the mistakes they have committed. He meant primarily failure to fulfil the food programme, unreasoned measures to combat alcoholism, etc.

Then the floor was taken by President Gorbachev (his speech will be transmitted separately).

Discussion of the agenda will be continued at the evening sitting.

### List of 'Top Priority' Issues Approved

*LD1402162790 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet approved a list of top priority issues to be discussed at its third session, which opened here today. The list includes 21 issues, but the order of their consideration has yet to be specified.

Numerous supplements to the session agenda, made by deputies during today's discussion, will have to be summed up, after which parliament will determine the final agenda.

It was decided that the session will continue until April 25 and that joint sittings of the Supreme Soviet's two chambers will be televised.

At a joint sitting tomorrow, the chambers plan to resume the discussion of bills on property and land, which were submitted for nationwide discussion after their first reading at the previous session.

### Gorbachev Reviews Agenda Discussion

*LD1402213990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "USSR Supreme Soviet Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy; report with recorded excerpts from the afternoon and evening sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 14 February]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] At the end of this discussion Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I regard this discussion which we have had as very useful and important. Just as all discussions in the Supreme Soviet—especially after it meets after an interval in its work and within the context of the present situation—this discussion is very important. Working side by side with a constructive approach and with constructive thoughts and proposals, there is an imprint of pressure, emotions and sentiments, and, let's say, of group and other plans and calculations. All this is present here. Such is our present day Supreme Soviet. It reflects the realities of the political process taking place in the country. None of what has been said here surprises me. The greater part of it is, after all, rational and reasonable. This must be the basis for us to continue our work in the future and determine how to continue having it on the agenda.

First, I wish to remind the deputies, and they are very... [changes thought] so that they also.... [changes thought] Indeed, Comrade Yanayev said here that all of us must get rid of this forgetfulness because of keen, tough discussions on the agenda of the Second Congress of People's Deputies and because the question was raised of clarifying a number of urgent issues—without which the country cannot advance any further. It was precisely then that the congress decision came into being. This decision instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission on some constitutional questions.

The first point is entrusting the Supreme Soviet with speeding up the adoption of the Laws on Ownership, on Land, on the Soviet Enterprises, on the Tax System, on the General Principles of Running the Economy and the Social Sphere of the Union and Autonomous Republics, on the Demarcation of Powers between the USSR and the Union Republics, on the General Principles of Local Self-Government, and on the Local Economy. The Supreme Soviet must then submit them to the next congress for examination. Here, incidentally, is an entire set of issues encompassing everything dictated by the economy and which we cannot hold back any longer. These issues encompass everything that is dictated by the development of the present interethnic relations and of the processes now underway within the framework of our federation. All this is present here and coincides with the instructions of the congress to the Supreme Soviet. These are the immediate issues. One should not, so to speak, upset us and introduce confusion into the Supreme Soviet's work. There must be logic and consistency. The logic must take into consideration the instructions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the present situation in the country, which highlights even more the topical nature of all these problems. This is the first point.

Second, Comrade Ivashko and I had a brief chat today upon arriving here. In the past weeks he had very many trips and meetings throughout the Ukraine, so to speak, right in the workshop face to face with people. We had very wide-ranging conversations. He summed them up as follows: Now they have already forgotten many things and are even not raising many issues which affect everyday life. They have forgotten all these inconveniences and are putting order into the country. There is triumph of the law in the first place. [slight applause]. Otherwise, if democracy is not supported in the future and insured by the appropriate mechanisms, it will perish. We will lose. Forces will exploit events. They already exist and are casting suspicions—some from the right, others from the left. Some are already casting suspicions against us and everything here. They are returning to the old ways and tightening the screws—as was the case then—and something even more drastic. What are others proposing? I am convinced that today this subject is being aired here at the Supreme Soviet. They still want to gain time and rock the country some more. What are they calling for? Destroying things, you understand, sweeping things away and trampling on them. This can also be heard.

It is not for nothing that I said today: What has to be grasped in the meetings, demonstrations, in the keen way in which things are being done by the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and young people, is the fact that it is proceeding, and that it is considered the process of democracy, it is calculated that the process of perestroyka should not stall, and we should not get bogged down. At the same time we see that these meetings, these public forms, which have been thrown up, which have appeared as a result of perestroyka—look what extremism they have legitimized! They put their spoke in, saying, let's do things according to the Czech version, that is, or according to the Romanian version, you know, Gorbachev equals Ceausescu, and so on, and so on. We can all see it, and we know. They are pushing, and there are such forces that are pushing in this direction, too, and this also has to be seen. So the people have perceived that in interethnic relations, too, and in public order, everything that includes the concept of stability requires our hearing this from the people. Hence there is also a block of laws, which we have here, which might give people the possibility of feeling that the Supreme Soviet has engaged in, is tackling those matters which have to intensify the force of the law. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] The members of the Presidium, during the break, reviewed deputies' comments on the agenda, and, opening the evening session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said the following:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] As a result of the discussion, these are the proposals we have come to. Indeed, if we take these, which have been included in the 20 matters, then this is, in essence, three blocks, all interconnected. The first is the matter of ownership of land and others connected with adopting these laws, urging on and creating reliable conditions for the advancement of radical economic reform. The second block is connected with examining matters, draft laws that are directed at intensifying the fight against crime and strengthening legal order, public order in the country. If you think about it, you can see that if we don't get to the bottom of matters relating to land ownership, it will be difficult to arrive at the delineation of powers between the union and the republics. In its turn, this will also be present, these elements, the other way around. Actually these are the two debates which are very much connected, and will, so to speak, supplement one another. As a result we have come to this view, that we have to begin work in the Supreme Soviet by chambers: The Soviet of the Union is to begin tomorrow—when and how is another question—examination of matters connected with discussion of the Law on Ownership, and then on Land, on State Enterprise, Local Self-Government, Taxation—the whole of this block. The Chamber of the Soviet of Nationalities, the second chamber of the Supreme Soviet will also begin its work tomorrow with a discussion of delineating the powers of the union and the union republics. Of course, this package, the agenda, is to include the Law on Secession—I'm speaking roughly, not the full titles, you understand—on general principles of managing the economy, the proposals of the Baltic republics—I am uniting in one, simple, so to speak, concept, what the comrades here have proposed, and it has in fact, been included here under Number 20. That is, all these matters actually encompass a whole complex of problems which relate to the federation, its new reading, and the fact that we, in concrete terms, should already begin tackling all matters relating to the reform of the federation. This is also to be begun tomorrow.

As far as the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is concerned, and the measures which are being implemented, the opinion was, perhaps, to come back to this question in a few days' time once we have seen how the situation has developed, in order to determine our position and then decide in what form, either in the Soviet of Nationalities—the chamber should sit first—and perhaps later hold a closed session of the whole Supreme Soviet. But at the moment this question should not be included in the agenda. That's the first part of the proposals. In connection with this, all the proposals contained in the speeches of comrades, naturally, do not fall at this stage into the priority category, which we must tackle, but there is the opinion of the Presidium that the Supreme Soviet should give an instruction that all those proposals submitted by the deputies should be generalized, examined at the Presidium, and its considerations be reported to the Supreme Soviet. Because there have been a lot of questions, including.... [changes thought] I would like to reply straightaway to some comrades who have proposed in writing that this or that question be put up for discussion. Therefore, I think we shall generalize on all this—the Presidium will examine and assess them and report its findings to you on this matter.

That's how we'll operate with the work agenda of the Supreme Soviet. Now to one of the questions which was the subject of lively discussion here, that is, the question of the convocation of an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. The members of the Presidium have come to the conclusion that such a Congress must be held. There is an imminent need for a regrouping of forces and a rethinking of all the mechanisms of executive power at levels in the higher echelon of power—we all feel this; it must not be put off, but we must operate in this way—to consider it necessary to hold an extraordinary congress in the very near future, and according to the degree of readiness, inasmuch as a start has been made—a Commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium has been set up. In the next two or three days it will submit a proposal to the Presidium; if the Presidium so evaluates it, the proposal can be passed on to the Supreme Soviet for discussion, then at the same time the question of a date can be settled. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Then a number of questions on the agenda were put to the vote. The deputies came out in favor of approving the proposal submitted by the Presidium on the order in which questions on the agenda are to be examined. Also included in the priority category was the question of liquidating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

It has been decided to continue the USSR Supreme Soviet session until 25 April and to examine many questions at separate sessions of the chambers. It has decided to examine as a priority issue the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the measures needed to normalize the situation there. The majority of deputies came out in favor of including on the agenda the question of holding an extraordinary congress and considering it desirable.

On questions proposed additionally for discussion by the deputies at today's session a special decision still has to be adopted, after corresponding proposals have been prepared by the Presidium.

Here's one other important detail. The deputies spoke in favor of broadcasting on radio and television recordings on all the joint sessions of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet, and to air them in the evenings.

Tomorrow it is proposed to discuss draft laws on ownership and on land at both the joint session and in the chambers.

## Gorbachev on Law and Order, Decisionmaking

*LD1402154290 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 14 Feb 90*

["Gorbachev Criticises 'emotions' at Soviet Parliament"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Summing up the debate on the agenda of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev said that alongside a constructive approach it had exhibited pressure tactics and emotions.

He pointed out that the turn in which the items on the agenda are to be discussed had been determined by the recent Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The Congress of People's Deputies instructed the parliament to speed up the passage of the laws on property, land, socialist enterprise, taxation, the general principles of the management of the economy and the social sphere in Union and autonomous republics, division of powers between the centre and Union republics and the general principles of local self-government and economic management.

Gorbachev said that the ensurance of law and order in the country is now the priority problem.

"Unless democracy is protected by appropriate mechanisms, it will perish and we shall lose," he said.

The president pointed out that there are forces both on the right and on the left that wish to take advantage of the difficult situation. The former call for a return to tougher times while the latter call for shaking the country stronger.

Regarding measures of the central authorities in the areas of ethnic conflicts, the president said they had to be taken since republican authorities did nothing to prevent or cut short disturbances.

"Why do we have to send internal troops and even army units to keep the situation under control and to prevent extreme developments?" He asked. "Where were the militia and internal troops when pogroms were staged in Baku? What about the republic's government?"

In this connection the president emphasised the need to review the entire mechanism of decision-making—from the top echelon of power to the republican and local level. He believes that presidential government could be the basis of such a mechanism.

Gorbachev recalled that he was among those who were critical of the idea of presidential government. "But life requires changes, and most decisive ones," he said.

He rejected suggestions that the introduction of presidential government would heighten his personal power. He believes that the president should be elected from among several candidates and he added he does not know if he will be nominated.

"People in the Supreme Soviet, in the Central Committee of the party and in the government should look further than their immediate duties when the destiny of the state is at stake," Gorbachev said. "There is no time to be lost. All these problems should be tackled," he said.

### People's Deputies Likely To Meet End of February

*LD1402084590 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

President Gorbachev opened a regular session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin at 10.00 today (7 a.m. Greenwich mean time).

The current session is to pass decisions that may change substantially the political image of Soviet society. They include, first and foremost, the law on ownership. It will do away with the state's economic monopoly and will allow diverse forms of ownership and recognise their equality.

A sharp aggravation of inter-ethnic problems has necessitated an urgent discussion of several bills—on the delineation of powers between the centre and the Union republics, on the procedure of secession of Union republics from the USSR, on heightened responsibility for encroachments upon the national equality of citizens and forceable violation of the integrity of USSR territory. The session will apparently discuss also the documents recently passed by the Lithuanian and Estonian parliaments, which actually rule null and void the legislative acts passed by the supreme bodies of those republics on their accession to the Soviet Union in 1940.

The current session will proceed against the background of a fundamentally new social situation. On the eve of the session, a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee declared that the communist party renounces its monopoly on political power and proposes to delete from the constitution the article legalising its leading role.

The plenary meeting also went on record for strengthening state power in the current difficult situation and to enact a post of president of the country. It is worth recalling that now the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet discharges the functions of a "collective presidency". As to the president of the Supreme Soviet (this post is now held by President Gorbachev), his powers are rather limited.

Since the session cannot amend the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet Presidium recommended on Monday to call an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the supreme organ of state power in the country.

It is believed in journalistic circles that if parliament accepts the Presidium's recommendation, the session will be interrupted for a few days to hold the congress, which will most probably take place at the end of February.

### Supreme Soviet Views Establishment of Presidency

*LD1402219290 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The third session of the Soviet parliament debated its agenda here today. The Supreme Soviet presidium recommended it discuss about 50 items during the next two months, including 20 items of primary importance.

The deputies discussed the question of whether or not to hold an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, as recommended by the Presidium, to amend the constitution, particularly in the part dealing with the party's role in the country, and to enact the post of president of the USSR.

Most Deputies supported the proposal of presidential rule, but differences arose when it came to deciding when and how it should be introduced. Advocates of the idea stressed that the country's difficult situation demanded the strengthening of the executive arm under strict parliamentary control.

Other deputies noted that such thorough changes in the country's political system called for serious preparations. They stressed that the questions of the presidency should be decided after elections to republican Supreme Soviets, which will then decide what powers the republics are willing to delegate to the president of the USSR.

Some deputies believe that the president should be elected not by the Congress of People's Deputies, as proposed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, but by all the population of the country through a direct, secret and universal ballot.

Leningrad lawyer Anatoliy Sobchak moved to set up a council of National Security. He believes that there should be a body under the president capable of effectively ensuring the prompt solution of important domestic and external problems.

## Deputies Favor Relays of Supreme Soviet

*LD1402155990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] We have a report from our special correspondents, accredited at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session. Here is the All-Union Radio correspondents' post in the Kremlin; Lyudmila Semina is at the microphone.

[Semina] Good evening. The agenda was discussed at the Supreme Soviet session today. But the question, as you will understand, was posed in a much broader way, revolving around the foremost tasks of the highest body of power, our most complicated political and economic situation.

Toward the end of the working day, the question of how the work of the session is to be covered—are we to continue to put out a recording of the relays of the sessions, or are we to confine ourselves to information and reportages—was also resolved. Here, it must be said, an overwhelming majority of deputies expressed themselves in favor of a relay. Today it will commence at 1900 [1600 GMT] and you will be able to learn in detail about how the Supreme Soviet was working during the first day of the session.

## Deputy's Speeches at 14 Feb Supreme Soviet

### Lukyanov Previews Session

*LD1402104790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0723 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the opening session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Comrade deputies, the proposals you have regarding the agenda of the current session have been drafted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The bases for these proposals are primarily the instructions from the Second Congress of People's Deputies, the considerations of the committees and commissions, and the wishes received by the Supreme Soviet from people's deputies, labor collectives, and citizens. It goes without saying that the situation in the country and the desire to give maximum consideration to the most acute and difficult problems of our social development have had an appreciable impact on the selection of questions submitted for inclusion on the agenda.

In formulating the agenda, the need for the work of creating laws to be directed definitively into deepening the processes of democratization and the implementation of radical change in various areas of public life was taken into account. Above all, this means economic reform, changes in political structures, the development of our federation, strengthening legality and discipline, and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens. It is also proposed to include those issues stemming from decisions previously adopted by the Supreme Soviet in the agenda. Last, the degree of readiness, that is, how much work has actually been done on the draft laws in the USSR Supreme Soviet's portfolio, was taken into account. It is important to say this because the experience of two previous sessions has shown that we sometimes waste time unproductively in discussing "raw" documents that have not been checked through sufficiently. Therefore, the nonappearance on the agenda of certain topical issues should not in any way be seen as reluctance to examine them, but as providing an opportunity to carry out further work on them and to bring specific draft laws to the necessary state. In theory, we must, evidently, agree that including any problem as an extra on the agenda should always be directly dependent on how ready for examination that problem is. This also refers to those issues that may arise during the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

From the materials you have, it can be seen that it is proposed to include a total of 50 questions on the agenda, 28 of these, and now, apparently, about 30 of them, to be considered for the first time. These are issues of major significance. They could be conveniently combined into seven basic groups. Permit me to dwell on these issues in more detail. First of all, there are the issues of constitutional development and changes in a number of key clauses in the country's basic law; central problems of implementing the economic reform; issues of social policy; further, issues of improving the Soviet federation and interethnic relations; then come issues of political reform; the next group is issues of legal reform; and finally, organizational issues.

Comrades! Because we have to work on them for a long time, I would like to report to you on these issues in detail, in the order in which I mentioned them.

I would like to remind you first of all that the Second Congress of People's Deputies recognized the need to work through issues of changes to a number of provisions of the current USSR Constitution regulating the foundations of the political and economic system, and also the national state structure of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet was instructed, following its work on the proposals on these issues, to present them for examination by the congress.

Two days ago the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium once again made a detailed analysis of this problem and came to the unanimous conclusion that such changes to the Constitution must be submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies in the near future. They would concern Articles Six and Seven of the basic law, about the place of the party and other sociopolitical organizations, articles devoted to various forms of property, and also provisions regulating the powers of higher echelons of state power in connection with the idea repeatedly put forward by deputies, citizens, and our academics for establishing the post of president of the country.

To examine these issues, the Supreme Soviet Presidium submits for your decision the proposal to convene the extraordinary third Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 27 February this year, that is, in two weeks' time. That is, within the framework of our constitutional powers.

The next exceptionally important group of issues on the agenda submitted for your examination is connected with the instruction from the congress on the adoption of basic laws directly aimed at in-depth transformations of Soviet society's economic base, and oriented toward the development of practical measures to improve the health of our entire economy.

As you know, with this aim the previous session examined in its first reading the draft laws on property, on land, on the general principles of local self-administration and local managements, on socialist enterprises, on the general principles of managing the economy and social sphere in the union and autonomous republics, and on taxation. The majority of these drafts were published in the press and are being widely discussed by the people.

Thus more than 10,000 proposals and remarks have been received on the law on property. The writers, as a rule, support the main idea of the draft law to overcome the alienation of the worker from the means of production, and make the person of labor the true owner. At the same time—you are well aware of this—discussion about a whole series of issues in this draft law, a whole series of its clauses, including the clause on the introduction, or the mention, of private property is not going away. As you know, there is a proposal to hold a referendum on this vital question. In a word, on the problems of property—and we will be discussing them in the very near future—we have thorough work to do.

The draft basic legislation on land has come in for important revision. For this, the results of questionnaires given to more than 2,500 specialists in agriculture and other areas were used. The draft was examined at a session of the All-Union Council of Collective Farms, and at the founding Congress of Peasant Farms, and the Agricultural Cooperatives of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The draft law on the general principles of the management of the economy and social sphere in the union and autonomous republics was submitted to comprehensive public expert opinion. It reflects both proposals by people's deputies of the USSR and theses of the platform of the CPSU on nationality policy in modern conditions. For the first time in the practice of the work of the Soviet of Nationalities, this draft was preliminarily examined at a conference of representatives of the majority of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs.

At the previous session, at the presentation of the government, the draft law on a unified taxation system in the USSR was discussed. The conclusions of the committees and commissions were—as you will recall—mainly critical because, in their view, the document could not fully encompass all aspects of tax relations. Now, in accordance with an agreement with the government, it is proposed that not one, but two draft laws relating to taxation be examined; the first on matters of income tax from citizens, and the second on taxation of enterprises, associations, and organizations; in other words, that this draft be split. Moreover, it is planned that a draft law on the gradual abolition of taxation of bachelors and single and childless citizens also be discussed.

For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the work of the state tax inspectorates being set up, and realistically strengthening verification of compliance with tax legislation, the USSR Council of Ministers has submitted yet one more document to the Supreme Soviet: A draft law on the rights of state tax inspectorates. As you can see, this is an important law because without a mechanism for carrying out tax policy it cannot be pursued. You will remember that this was a direct instruction of the Congress of People's Deputies. The government requests that the draft law be examined at this session. Work on it is being completed in the Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union. Thus, we have to work out a whole package of normative acts relating to taxation, without which the normal functioning of our economy is inconceivable.

At the second session of the Supreme Soviet, during its first reading, amendments to the law on cooperatives were already being examined. This matter, the significance of which everyone is aware, has, according to a report by the committees and commissions, been worked on additionally and can now be discussed in a second reading.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is submitting a proposal that the draft law on the general principles of local self-government and local economic management also be examined in a second reading. As a result of discussion of it in the press and in work collectives, a large number of proposals and comments have been sumitted. The chief thing they contain is a demand that the inter-relations between the central, republican, and local bodies of power in the country be more precisely defined.

So here, too, extensive consultations with the public, with specialists, and with different sections of the population have undoubtedly been of use and now, in further working on these and other documents, it is important to work out the necessary decisions by drawing on the entire range of opinions, points of view, and proposals. A fairly compact group of acts of law affecting various aspects of the social policy of our state is closely linked to the block of draft laws on the economy which are proposed for examination in the course of the current session. It is undoubtedly the draft law on citizens' pension provision that is foremost here. Its main idea is to improve the conditions of life of large groups of the population, and to implement consistently the principles of social justice in assessing the labor and working life of each individual. As you will recall, this draft has been published and gave rise to a most extensive reaction, comrades. More than half a million letters have been received, both approving the basic tenets of the draft law, and containing proposals for improving many of its norms. The commissions and committees are currently completing compilation of those proposals. There are, quite simply, lots of them, a veritable flood.

The draft law on leave, which affects the interests of literally every working person, also evoked a great response among the public. To date we do not have a precise system on this. Instead of one law, there is a mass of acts of law of various types in force, some of which have long been obsolete. This law too, then, is awaited by millions upon millions of people.

It is proposed to include on the agenda an issue of such great social importance as the draft law on the dissolution of labor contracts on the initiative of the administration without the agreement of the trade union committee. It aims at considerably reducing the list of categories of workers whose labor disputes can only be dealt with departmentally, and stipulates that these workers have the right to a defense in court in the event of groundless dismissal or the imposition of a disciplinary penalty. You will recall how much we have discussed this vital issue.

The Supreme Soviet has to express its attitude toward the draft law on the basis of the state's youth policy. This draft has been drawn up by the Committees for Youth Affairs and by the Komsomol Central Committee. Its work was energetic and creative, but evidently we will still have to debate this draft, and debate it a good deal.

Within the procedure for implementing the Supreme Soviet's supervisory functions, it is planned, as was stipulated at the previous session, to discuss two reports from the Council of Ministers on the progress of compliance with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 20 November on additional measures to stabilize the consumer market and increase state control of prices, and on the integrated program to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station. In so doing, the wishes of deputies from Belorussia who have again come to the USSR Supreme Soviet with a proposal to examine the program for resolving this problem with respect to the Belorussian Republic will be taken into account.

The discussion, included in the agenda, of the general state program on the environment and the rational use of natural resources for the 13th-Five Year Plan period and forward to 2005, can also be put with this group of questions. Here, the Committee on Ecology proposes that the Supreme Soviet should deal with an even wider range of nature preservation programs and nature preservation problems. It must be said that we then have to discuss the extra proposals which were introduced yesterday by the Committee on Ecology.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, as at the last sessions, has to continue the discussion on a whole series of issues of the renewal of the Soviet federation and relations between nationalities. First and foremost this is the draft law on the demarcation of powers between the USSR and the union republics, which presupposes the introduction of significant changes in Section Three of the USSR Constitution. It will reflect a new vision of the Soviet federation at the current stage, and ways of marrying the rights of the republics and those of the union as a whole, and a supplementary guarantee of the implementation of these rights. I must say, comrades, that in itself the law touching on the practical supplementation of the union treaty—and this is said directly—has been prepared from completely new standpoints. In the context of the renewal of the national state structure of the country, it is proposed to examine the draft law on the procedure for tackling the questions connected with the possibility of withdrawal of union republics from the USSR in accordance with Article 72 of the present Constitution.

Correct understanding.... [changes thought] The fundamental significance of this draft law is, I think, understood by all. This is intended to make it possible to clearly resolve issues of an economic, political, and international nature, and of protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, and to resolve a number of humanitarian and juridical problems so that the implementation of the right to self-determination of a union republic should not be to the detriment of anyone, and should not lead to any detriment of the interests of other republics, or to any exacerbation of ethnic relations.

In this context, it is planned to examine at either a session of the Soviet of Nationalities, or at a joint session of the chambers, the question of the decisions of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Repubic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, regarding the historical evaluation of the events which took place in Estonia in 1940; and of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, regarding the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 and the elimination of the consequences they had for Lithuania. these decisions effectively cast doubt upon, and declare as invalid, the acts of 1940 on the entry of these republics into the union of the SSR. As you yourselves understand, the Supreme Soviet Presidium could not pass by acts of this sort on the part of republican supreme bodies of power, and at its session on 12 February it deemed it necessary to draw the attention of all members of the USSR Supreme Soviet to them.

The Supreme Soviet's discussion of the draft law on the free national development of citizens of the USSR who are resident outside the bounds of their own national state formations, or who do not have these on the territory of the USSR, will also serve to ensure the stability and harmonization of ethnic relations and consolidate the Soviet federation. At the present time, although this problem affects more than 60 million Soviet citizens—a figure we have already mentioned—the legal mechanism for ensuring their free national development has not been worked out, and just recently life has inflicted no few bitter surprises, as you yourselves well know. Therefore, in responding to these demands which life is making, we cannot postpone consideration of this issue on the agenda.

You will remember that this draft law has already been considered in the Supreme Soviet. Substantial amendments were made to it during the first reading. The document submitted for a second reading has been drafted much more thoroughly; it takes account of many proposals not only from deputies but also from citizens residing in various republics. I can tell you, comrades, that the overwhelming majority of letters addressed to our Supreme Soviet of late concern precisely interethnic relations.

The draft law on citizenship of the USSR is another priority matter and it is proposed to consider this at a second reading. It has been thoroughly revised in the committees and commissions on the basis of comments from the republics and people's deputies. It takes account of the USSR's international obligations in the sphere of human rights.

Matters relating to language as the basis of spiritual culture have in recent years taken on an increasingly pronounced political coloring. The majority of the union republics have recently adopted laws proclaiming the languages of the indigenous nations as the state languages. However, there is a clear need to take careful account of inhabitants of the republics of all nationalities, all the more so in that experience has demonstrated that absence of a well-considered approach to consideration of language problems leads to extremely serious and sometimes grievous consequences.

The latest events are convincing confirmation of the need to settle these issues not only at a republican level, but also at the all-union level. The law on the languages of the peoples of the USSR should indeed serve as a guarantee of such an approach; the draft of this, following consideration during the first reading, has been revised by the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. You can obtain this most major draft law.

Elimination of conflict situations on an interethnic basis can be described as one of the most acute problems of the present-day situation in society. Since the last session, this issue, regrettably, has been even further exacerbated. Soviet people greet with sorrow and indignation every report of outbreaks of violence and dangerous instances of discord based upon ethnic enmity and intolerance. The heating-up of the latest events in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and in Nagorno-Karabakh, and now in Tajikistan, too, is evidence of such tension. Here we can feel even more tangibly the substantial gap in our legislation on these major problems.

Taking this as its point of departure, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed it necessary to submit for consideration at the session a draft law envisaging increasing the liability for encroachments upon the national equality of citizens, and attempts at violent disruption of the unity of the territory of the Soviet Union.

Evidently it is just as urgent to examine the draft law on the legal status of the state of emergency. Up until the present time we have not had clear, detailed legal regulation of this very complicated problem. In accordance with the deputies' wishes, such a draft law has been prepared and given to members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which you received today.

This, comrades, is what a large volume of questions on interethnic relations there is, questions on our federation's development. The following group of questions, which it is proposed to include in the agenda, is connected to the implementation of political reform and the further development of the processes of democratization and glasnost. Here we have, in the first place, to examine two draft laws concerning the activities of USSR people's deputies, namely the draft law on the status of people's deputies, and the law on the procedure for recalling a USSR people's deputy. On this account there is a direct instruction from the congress where, as you rememeber, the draft law on the status of USSR people's deputies was approved, and the Supreme Soviet was instructed to revise and adopt it taking into consideration observations and proposals which were expressed. Such revision in the appropriate committees and commissions is being completed. It seems that there are now no obstacles for a final examination of this draft at the present session.

Regarding the draft law on recalling a USSR people's deputy, this must be—there is a small change here—revised, and then, taking into consideration discussion by the whole people, put forward for examination by the Supreme Soviet. Evidently it will be possible to do this at the present session as well, with subsequent introduction of this problem at the regular Congress of USSR People's Deputies. I will note that with the adoption of these two laws the creation of a system of all-union legal acts, defining the status of people's deputies at all levels of soviets, will on the whole be completed. At the same time, it is borne in mind that the all-union laws will then be given concrete expression in the corresponding republic legislation. The deepening of the processes of democratization in the country has caused a rapid increase in various public organizations, independent associations, and mass movements. Today their influence is felt literally everywhere. However we do not have, strictly speaking, a proper legal basis for their activities. We are usually referred to acts from 1930 to 1932, adopted 60 years ago. The question of creating such a basis, from our point of view, has ripened and even over-ripened. It is not simple. It requires deep comprehension of the processes going on in society.

This is why the Supreme Soviet Presidium is making a proposal to include on the agenda a draft law on public associations of citizens, and to examine it with as little delay as possible.

There is no end here to discussion of the place and role of the biggest public organization, that of trade unions, whose activity directly affects the interests of practically the entire population and goes far beyond the framework of narrowly professional matters. Experience shows that today the trade union charter by itself is no longer enough. Many questions in the area of relations between trade unions and the state demand a legislative settlement. In this connection it is proposed to put on our agenda a draft law on the rights of trade unions in the USSR. This draft is quite complex, and many of its clauses are not uncontroversial. Obviously it is unlikely that it can be definitively adopted at this session. For this reason it is proposed that it should be examined only in its first reading, and then the work should be continued in committees and commissions.

The draft law on the press and other mass media must be spoken of in particular. You will remember that there were quite heated debates on the significance and political content of that law at the second session of the Supreme Soviet. During broad discussion of the draft in society, the existence of the most contradictory views on this draft was confirmed once again. you saw this yourselves, and obviously you read about it in many papers. But it is time for us to call a halt, and the Supreme Soviet Presidium also proposes including this draft, now in its second reading, in the agenda of the present session.

It is intended to examine in its second reading the draft law on the procedure for Soviet citizens leaving and entering the USSR. The basic clauses of the draft law in its first reading were approved by the previous session of the Supreme Soviet. Revision of the draft was entrusted to the Committee on International Affairs and the Committee on Issues of Legislation, along with the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This task has been fulfilled, and the document has been prepared for discussion.

The further strengthening of guarantees for observing the rights and freedoms of citizens, and their social protection, makes it an urgent need to settle whole layers, I would say, of social relations on which at present there is either a complete absence of legislation, or else it is incomplete and imperfect. Evidently we cannot solve all questions of this kind at one session. However, bearing in mind the proposals of the committees and commissions and also the work that has already been done, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has considered it possible to submit for examination by the present session drafts of such laws as those on freedom of conscience and religious organizations, on the procedure for examining complaints and other appeals by citizens, on the procedure for the organization and holding of meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

As you will remember, demands were made with alarm and concern at the Congress of People's Deputies for a strengthening of the fight against crime and, especially, against its organized forms. The Supreme Soviet was instructed to speed up the adoption of legislative acts aimed at the most decisive reinforcement of law and order. It was proposed as an immediate measure that the matter be examined of introducing amendments to existing criminal procedural legislation which would ensure the inevitability of the strict liability of all members of criminal groups and, above all, of their organizers. Such a draft law has been proposed by the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and is being submitted for examination of the present session.

At the instruction of the congress, we have to discuss the draft law on the Soviet militia. Moreover, a draft law on the obligations and rights of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in maintaining law and public order is being submitted to the session. This is important also because the law-making acts regulating the work of the militia and the internal troops have, until now, in many cases been bureaucratic and instructional. The present situation and its destabilization require these matters to be resolved first and foremost by the law, and only by the law.

There is also a proposal to examine the drafts of the law on the Supreme Court, this is an instruction of the congress; the law on military tribunals. These represent a logical continuation of the work begun last year on implementing judicial reform. The agenda of the session plans to make provision for the draft of the foundations of criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics which, bearing in mind its particular significance, was at an earlier date submitted for nationwide discussion. One can also include in this category the draft laws establishing liability for especially dangerous crimes against the state, against the peace and security of humankind, and for military crimes.

As a result of the proliferation of trade crimes, profiteering, and crimes in the shadow economy, which is fraught with great dangers under the conditions of the present social tension, the USSR Supreme Court and the procurator general, at the recommendation of the provisional committee for fighting crime, will submit to the Supreme Soviet a draft law which will envisage a set of measures relating to increasing liability, both criminal and administrative, for abuses in the trade sphere and for profiteering.

Obviously this is another urgent problem. It is planned to devote a significant position in the work of the current session to organizational issues, most of which ensue directly from the instructions of the congress. These are the formation of the Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution, the Commission for Procedural Issues, the Supreme Soviet Committee for Issues of Combating Crime—to which the main functions of the provisional committee for combating crime, now in operation, will evidently be transferred—the Commission for Issues of Deputies' Ethics—the formation of which we have addressed on more than one occasion, and now this problem has been entrusted to us by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Comrades, these are the main proposals of the Supreme Soviet Presidium related to the formation of the agenda for the current session of the Supreme Soviet. Of course, I should like to repeat once again: We have no guarantee against the necessity arising to alter any points of this agenda as matters take their course, against something being added or postponed in response to life's demands. We are speaking about a core agenda here, about an aspiration to impart a businesslike and organized nature to our work from the first day. There are suggestions in this connection that the whole list of problems which have been proposed for our consideration not be published now, but only part of the agenda, the 20 issues which have been distributed to you, so that we aren't bound by a rigid framework and don't cause unnecessary discussions about why a particular issue has been omitted from the Supreme Soviet's field of vision. So there are a total of 50 issues within our field of vision, and we are taking 20 of them as primary ones. You have them in your hands. The more competently and precisely our work proceeds, the more we will be able to do from the general list which the deputies possess.

Comrade deputies, at the same time, the Supreme Soviet Presidium is submitting the draft resolution decision on the organization of the Supreme Soviet's work on implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of People's Deputies for your consideration. I think it should just be put to you in the general report and in brief, because you all have a copy. This resolution is very close to the proposed agenda and, at the same time, it sets the parameters for all our forthcoming work. To be brief, it is typified by certain essential salient features.

First: The Congress of People's Deputies, as you know, endowed the Supreme Soviet with fundamentally new powers. When adopting laws it can now simultaneously introduce essential amendments to individual articles of the Constitution for subsequent confirmation at the next congress. This opens up additional potential for accelerating the process of the reforms which have been planned, as well as for tackling the most important issues of public and state life. At the same time, the said innovation—if one can put it like this—significantly raises the threshold of responsibility of the commissions and committees, the members of the Supreme Soviet, and our body of deputies for decisions as they are adopted.

Second: Taking into account the situation that is developing, we are called upon to demonstrate the utmost principle and efficiency in determining urgent and emergency measures aimed at ensuring stability within the national economy, in accordance with the instructions of the congress. In this connection, the Supreme Soviet Presidium deems it necessary to accept the government's proposal to examine at the session the issue of the practical implementation of the program to normalize the country's economy. This practical implementation could be at the very beginning of March. Particular attention is merited by the forthcoming examination of the draft 13th Five-Year Plan. As already noted at the previous session and at the second congress, this must be completely different from plans thus far. It must be distinguished by such qualities as the ability to adapt to the conditions of the socialist market, flexibility in connection with short-term changes, and the expansion of economic independence for enterprises, regions, and republics. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet will undoubtedly take under its special control how the drive to improve the well-being of the population, develop the agro-industrial complex as a priority, and above all improve food supplies and normalize the ecological situation is reflected in the plan.

Third: It remains for us to continue discussion of the important issues of relations between the nationalities. I have already spoken about the draft laws that have been submitted for your consideration. The Supreme Soviet presidium would simply like to invite you, comrades, to cooperate in solving these matters and to have a considered approach to them so that emotions do not gain the upper hand over good sense, and our every step is attended by internationalism. In this, the example of the country's Supreme Soviet must be the standard for all

Soviets of People's Deputies and for society as a whole. I think that every one of us realizes the responsibility he is assuming in this case.

Fourth—and something I would particularly like to talk about: This is the task of substantially raising the level of work in the Soviets of People's Deputies of all grades, which are coming up for election once again, a task of which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has spoken about here. The main burden here will, evidently, fall to the Committee on Issues of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies, Development of government and Self-government. After the adoption of a union law on the general principles of local self- government and the local economy, we will evidently have to provide the most vigorous aid in working out corresponding republican acts, and in practically implementing the new principles and tenets of the considerably expanding authority of the bodies of power at the local level, which is the main thing.

Fifth: You will no doubt have noticed that along with those of legislating—and the draft law places particular emphasis upon this—we will have to concentrate great efforts on matters connected to putting into practice the USSR Supreme Soviet's administrative and supervisory powers. A lot of issues have amassed here, and however weighed down by legislation we might be, comrades, it is very important that the supervisory functions of the Supreme Soviet are performed.

Each one of us is well aware that Soviet people expect the Supreme Soviet to follow the development of the situation in the country, and the observance and implementation of laws and other decisions from the supreme body of power exactingly and rigorously.

And last, comrades, on the order of our work: The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proceeds from the fact that the current session could, if we manage it, be concluded at the end of April, on 24-25 April. Taking into account how packed the agenda is and the need to transfer the main burden of work to the commissions and committees, it is proposed that we organize our work as follows:

The first week is to be allotted to plenary sessions, and the next to work in committees and commissions. We will continue to act in such a sequence, in such a rhythm: One week, work of the session; one week, work of the commissions. The experience of the previous session showed the expediency of such alternation, however, with one vital addition: That is, taking into account the numerous proposals by Supreme Soviet members, to devote one day a month, beginning in march, to replies by members of the government and the heads of other state bodies to deputies' questions. Such a procedure is acceptable, because it will also assist in strengthening the Supreme Soviet's supervisory functions. Such, comrades, are the proposals on the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the implementation of the instructions from the Congress of People's Deputies, and on the order of work of the session which is beginning today. You have the proposals on the agenda, the order of work, and also the draft decision of the Supreme Soviet on organizing work in connection with the implementation of the congress's decisions. The Supreme Soviet Presidium asks you to examine them attentively.

## Antanaytis Notes Lithuanian Independence

*LD1402200890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1806 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Lithuanian Deputy Antanaytis at the 14 February Supreme Soviet procedings at the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Much respected Supreme Soviet: On behalf of the People's deputies and the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania I am instructed to say the following with regard to the agenda (I will take three minutes):

First, here is a statement by the people's deputies of Lithuania:

Stemming from the fact that Lithuania, which in 1940 became the victim of occupation and annexation by the USSR, remains an independent state, under international law, the sovereignty of which has been suspended by external force, and taking into account the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet decision on 7 February of this year on the illegality of the inclusion of Lithuania in the USSR in August 1940, we the people's deputies of Lithuania who have been elected by the people with a clear-cut mandate from our voters to restore Lithuania's sovereignty in all relations with the USSR, propose that the USSR Supreme Soviet begin talks on the procedure and conditions for restoring the independence of the Lithuanian republic, which was acknowledged by the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania on 12 July 1920. In this connection, we propose that this question be included on the agenda for the third Supreme Soviet session as one determining our participation in the session's work.

Second: The 7 February 1990 Lithuanian Supreme Soviet decision also calls for it to be proposed that the Soviet Union enter into bilateral talks on restoring the independence of the Lithuanian state. A decision of the Supreme Soviet yesterday approved the statement of USSR people's deputies which I have read out. I must emphasize that when we speak of restoring Lithuania's statehood, our position is often distorted. We will strive for an economic union and for scientific, cultural, ecological, and other links with all the republics and states of the Soviet Union. Regarding our unique status here in Moscow, we declare that we will take part in the discusion of those matters that do not limit the sovereignty of Lithuania. We hope that the Supreme Soviet will take the aspirations of the Lithuanian people into account and will include the matter we have proposed on the session's agenda.

I am handing over the texts of the statement and the decisions to Mikhail Sergeyevich. Thank you.

## Leadership Accountability Urged

*LD1402193490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1812 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Deputy Sazonov at the 14 February Supreme Soviet Proceedings in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Comrade deputies, in his opening speech today Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke true words, that the guilty should be called to account in accordance with the full severity of the law. I would simply like to say that everyone should be called to account in accordance with the full severity of the law, including the general secretary and the defense minister. Therefore, I would ask you to support the proposal to include on the agenda in the "Any other business" section, the accounts from the leaders of the party and the country for the mistakes committed, for failure to carry out the program, for violating the constitution of the USSR.

Specifically, on the action of the CPSU Central Committee in sending troops into Afghanistan in 1979, there should be an account from those participants in this action who are still alive. What were called the four dead men who participated in that action are not enough for us. Second, an account from USSR People's Deputies Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev for the failure to carry out the Food Program. Third, an account from the whole Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee for the 1985 political decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the struggle against alcoholism, which was directed against the honest worker and which today has serious consequences. [murmuring in hall] Fourth, this final, fourth point is a very serious one as it concerns a moral issue, for sending the troops of the Soviet Army into Georgia on 9 April. What do I have in mind here? The main thing is Yazov's report; when we confirmed him as minister, he beat his breast saying that he had not given any orders, but we have found out in fact that he gave the instructions to his chief of staff, Comrade Moiseyev; second, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov at the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR said—the stenographic record confirms this—that the center had absolutely nothing to do with these events. In fact the whole membership of the Politburo including Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, it turns out, voted in favour of making this decision. In our years of perestroyka, the Politburo makes a decision in violation of the USSR Constitution, without the Supreme Soviet. Further, finally, the one who is most to blame here is Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev who organized that conference on 7 April.

Therefore, everyone should be brought to book. Let us get accustomed to this, starting from today, that we should hear an account from the leaders of the party and the country for mistakes they commit and let them do this while they are alive and not after their death. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

## Stankevich Views Presidency Issues

*LD1402235990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1854 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Deputy Stankevich at the 14 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Thank you, esteemed chairman, esteemed USSR people's deputies. In connection with the discussion of the second point of the proposed agenda on the convening of an extraordinary congress, the interregional deputies' group has instructed me to inform you of our position.

As has become known, it is proposed to discuss at the routine session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the question of convening an extraordinary congress of USSR People's Deputies which will be called upon to introduce into the USSR's political system the institution of presidency. In connection with this we consider it essential to inform the deputies and electors of our position.

We confirm our adherence to the idea of transferring the whole plenitude of political power in the USSR from the monopoly ruling party to democratically formed bodies of the state. We are unconditionally in agreement with the idea that, to establish as quickly as possible a law-governed state in our country, what is needed is effective executive power to implement the laws adopted by parliament.

Thus, we are prepared to support the introduction of the institution of presidency into the USSR's political system. At the same time, in order to avoid the intensification of authoritarian tendencies and in order to provide a reliable guarantee that the country will continue to develop along the democratic path and to observe the constitutional guarantees of the rights of the union republics, we consider the following conditions to be obligatory:

First, the question of the introduction of the presidency at union level should be subject to preliminary discussion by the new compositions of the supreme legislative bodies of all the union republics. No one has the right to alter in such a radical manner the structure of the supreme power in the country without having the clearly stated position of the republican parliaments.

Second, it is essential to grant the supreme legislative bodies of the union republics the right and opportunity to autonomously determine the extent of the powers which they are prepared to delegate to the president of the USSR. This will provide a legal basis for introducing the corresponding changes in the USSR's constitution.

Third, from our point of view, unless union republics decide otherwise, the election of the president of the USSR should take place by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot from several candidatures and on a multiparty basis. At the same time, we consider it essential to introduce new forms of parliamentary supervision of the executive power and to strengthen the existing forms.

Taking account of what has been said, we propose that the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies adopt at this session a proposal to put to the supreme soviets of the union republics, that they examine as expeditiously as possible questions connected with the introduction of the presidency of the USSR and inform the country's supreme bodies of their position. Thank you.

### Lopatin on Military Reform

*LD1402220890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1910 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Deputy Lopatin at the 14 February Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed deputies. Yes, we really are constantly late in adopting decisions and this has already been said more than once. However, are we simply to consent to a simple statement of this fact? Perhaps some people simpy do not want to put an end to this situation and want to assume the role of delayers.

I am going to discuss the question of the use of the Army to fulfill functions not inherent to it and the question of military construction proposed for discussion in the very first days of the work of the first session, but which has not been included on the agenda of the third session.

This is shown by the absence of a permanent and effective mechanism for elaborating and adopting decisions on the use of the Armed Forces and monitoring the implementation of these decisions. Take for example, Afghanistan in 1979 and Tbilisi and Baku in 1989 and 1990. There are 10 years between them, but the principle is the same everywhere—the absence of a mechanism for permanent monitoring. Who benefits from the preservation of such a situation?

After the congress, meetings were held in all major garrisons of the Northern Fleet and in a number of garrisons of the Leningrad Military District to discuss this situation and these events. The majority of the officers corps unambiguously assessed the defense minister's order on partial mobilization of those liable for military service to participate in the events in Baku as a provocation which the defense minister was pushed into by circles in the military-industrial complex. These circles gave him orders and continue to give these orders. It is not clear who is in control of our government.

This is also shown by the following facts. In accordance with the accords which have been reached in Vienna, unilateral reductions of armed forces in Europe are underway in the USSR and these reductions will incrase. Two-thirds of all armored equipment and artillery and one-third of aircraft and helicopters will be eliminated. One might ask, since we are reducing and eliminating this equipment in accordance with accords that have been reached, should we not produce less of this equipment? Yet at the same time we have affirmed for 1990 an increase in the proportion of the military budget directed to buy this military equipment. Why is this happening? Who is deceiving us? Who is deceiving you, Mikhail Sergeyevich? This was discussed in the 10 February edition of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on events in Baku. Surely there is a question that arises here. If this deception continues we will be irresponsible if we do not book those who deceive us on this matter. [Gorbachev interjects that Lopatin should finish speaking]

That is why, apart from recognizing the need for military reform which has already taken place at all levels, we propose as the next step that the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet introduces for discussion the question of preparing for and carrying out military reform in the USSR. Thank you.

### Azeri Deputy Urges 'Immediate Solution'

*LD1502002390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1950 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Exchange between unidentified Azerbaijani deputy and Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 14 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin—from the recorded relay]

[Text] [Unidentified Azerbaijani deputy, speaking from floor] I should like on behalf of the Azerbaijan delegation to speak for a couple of minutes, if I may. In connection with the fact that our proposal has been rejected, I have been instructed to say a few words.

[Gorbachev] Which proposal of yours has been rejected?

[Azerbaijani deputy] In connection with the fact that blood is continuing to be shed in Baku, we requested that there be an urgent discussion jointly by both chambers on the situation that has arisen in our homeland, and that it be given a political assessment over the whole complex of issues that have arisen. This requires an immediate solution. Mikhail Sergeyevich, understand this: You have many republics. You can lose one, two or three, and six tenths of them will still remain. But Azerbaijan has only one Russia, and we do not want to lose it. This behavior by the Supreme Soviet will lead to even more complexities and problems arising there. We request that this issue be considered as a matter of the greatest urgency and that it be given a comprehensive political assessment.

[Gorbachev] So that you understand my viewpoint, it coincides with yours, namely, that the issue be discussed. But on the other hand information has been received that the issue should be postponed for the present, and we are trying to meet these requests halfway. If you and....

[Azerbaijan deputy, interrupting] Where did this information come from and what type of information is it? Where did the information come from? There are representatives of the Azerbaijan people seated here, and there have been decisions by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet.

[Gorbachev] Alright, let us... er... or rather in our consideration and voting on the agenda we shall examine that part of the issue.

## Gorbachev Opens 14 Feb Evening Session

*LD1402234390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1935 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, followed by exchange with Deputy Sokolov; at the 14 February evening Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Allow me to report on the results of the deliberations on the discussion on the agenda in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. As a result of the discussion, these are the proposals we have come up with. Indeed, if we take these issues, which have been included in the 20 issues, then this consists in essence, of three blocs, all interconnected. The first concerns the ownership of land and other issues connected with the adoption of these laws, on encouraging and creating reliable preconditions for the advancement of radical economic reform. The second bloc is connected with the development of our federation, and the third bloc is connected with examining matters, draft laws that are directed toward intensifying the fight against crime and strengthening legal order, public order in the country.

If you think about it, then you can see that if we don't get to the bottom of matters relating to ownership and land, it will be difficult to arrive at the delineation of powers between the union and the republics. In turn, these elements will also be present the other way around. Actually these are the two debates which are very much connected, and will, so to speak, supplement one another. As a result we have come to this view, that we have to begin work in the Supreme Soviet by chambers: The Soviet of the Union is to begin tomorrow—when and how is another question—the examination of matters connected with discussion of the Law on Ownership, and also on Land, on State Enterprise, Local Self-Government, Taxation—the whole of this bloc. The chamber of the Soviet of Nationalities, the second chamber of the Supreme Soviet, will also begin work tomorrow by discussing the matter of delineating the powers of the union and the union republics. Of course, this package, the agenda, is to include the Law on Secession—I'm speaking loosely, not the full titles, you understand—on general principles of managing the economy, the proposals of the Baltic republics. I am banding together in one simple, so to speak, concept, what the comrades here have proposed, and it has in fact, been included here under item 20. All these matters actually encompass a whole complex of problems which relate to the federation, its new reading and the fact that we, in concrete terms, should start tackling all matters relating to the transformation of the federation. This will also be begun tomorrow.

As far as the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is concerned, and the measures which are being implemented, then the opinion might be to come back to this question in a few days' time, once we have seen how the situation has developed further. We can then get our bearings and decide in what form, either in the Soviet of Nationalities—the chamber should sit first—and perhaps later hold a closed session of the whole Supreme Soviet. However, at the moment this question should not be included in the agenda.

That's the first part of the proposals. In connection with this, all the proposals contained in the speeches by comrades, naturally, do not fall at this stage into the priority category, which we must tackle, but there is a body in the Presidium that believes that the Supreme Soviet should give an instruction that all those proposals raised by deputies should be put into a generalized form, examined at the Presidium and their considerations be reported to the Supreme Soviet.

Because there have been a lot of questions, I would like to reply straightaway to some comrades who have proposed in writing that this or that question be put up for discussion. I think we will put all this in a generalized form, and the Presidium will examine and assess it and report its findings to you on this matter.

That's how we'll operate with the agenda of the work of the Supreme Soviet. Now, one question which was the subject here of lively discussion: That is the question of the convocation of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. The members of the Presidium have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to hold such a congress. There is an imminent need to regroup forces and grasp the meaning of all the mechanisms of implementation at levels, in the higher echelon of power—we all feel this. It must not be put off, but we must operate in this way—to consider it necessary to hold an extraordinary congress in the very near future, and according to the degree of readiness, inasmuch as a start has been made, a commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium has been set up. In the next two or three days it will put forward a proposal to the Presidium; if the Presidium assesses it in such a way that this can be passed on the the Supreme Soviet for discussion, then at the same time the question of a date can be settled. In any event, we talked about the fact that it should be either the date which has been given of a week later, somewhere immediately after the elections in the Russian Federation—in other words, depending on the state of readiness of the proposals. So, should we include it on the agenda? Well, we'll vote on everything, comrades. I am, so to speak, settling out all the proposals for you, and then we will seek to agree on them.

Now, probably the final point, although it does not concern the agenda, but since this matter has been raised here, we discussed it in the Presidium: How to cover the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium is putting forward two proposals for your examination, since it did not agree on a common proposal. The first proposal is to cover it as it has been covered. However, in connection with the fact that the chambers will be working simultaneously, we will evidently have, all the same, to make up some kind of system. Otherwise, we won't be able to get the timing right. Nevertheless, the proposal is that this channel should be made available for six hours, as it was covered before, and that we should proceed here on the basis, as we operated in the past, that when we reach agreement—and in this case there will be more on the chambers, the sessions of the chambers—we shall determine what ought to be covered, and what should be left with the agreement of the chambers or the Supreme Soviet for internal... for the shorthand report. That is how we operated in the past, too. This must, in all cases, be the responsibility of the chairmen of the chambers.

Now for the second proposal. The second proposal is this: To have coverage for two to three hours—even, in the main, I think, two hours—showing the main content and speeches.

In this way to give deputies an opportunity to concentrate on deepening their analysis of the documents and remarks without, so to speak, rushing their considerations and at the same time set them free to work according to the television schedules, but to work on the matter at hand. This, too, has happened. I am reporting to you just as we spoke in the Supreme Soviet Presidium so that you know that we discussed these two proposals. We came to the unanimous opinion to report to you about these two proposals. In other words, we were at variance. We did not vote there, but we agreed that the Supreme Soviet itself should determine the matter. I think I have reported everything.

[Unidentified deputy] But how will there be a vote on the laws if they are being discussed in different chambers?

[Gorbachev] This doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, at the final stage later on, comrades, we will have to hold joint sessions. It isn't being ruled out. At the same time we will be proceeding in parallel along the main directions—the economic block and the question connected with federation, the political process. At the joint session these very questions connected with the laws on the rights of the internal troops, on a state of emergency, and so on, that which affects the strengthening of law and order and legality in the country.[sentence as heard] However, as you have perceived, we have virtually covered all the questions there are, only they have been set out so that work proceeds in this particular way.

I would like to ask you straightaway if you are in favor of such an approach in principle? Comrade Sokolov, has your question been raised there?

[Sokolov] Yes, [words indistinct] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I'm very sorry, about the liquidation of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster... [Gorbachev interrupts]

[Gorbachev] You know, we agreed....

[Sokolov] It was not down in the 20 questions, and we insist that it should be included.

[Lukyanov, whispering to Gorbachev] Include it as item 21.

[Gorbachev] Listen, let's do it this way, comrades. We'll include it as No. 21, it is very important for the people, and we will discuss it when we have discussed the question—government information on the fulfilment of the program to improve the economy—including how the implementation and the working out of the programme to eliminate the aftermath are proceeding. Also, the comrades from Armenia have put forward a proposal that this item should include the question of the elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake.

[Sokolov] No, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We request that the question of the elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster be included in the group of 20 priority questions. To discuss it separately.

[Gorbachev] I say we will include it as No. 21, and we'll agree later on the mechanism of the discussion.

[Sokolov] A separate question.

[Gorbachev] Okay, fine.

## Comparison of Gorbachev 14 Feb Opening Address

*PM1502101190*

The following comparison pertains to the item entitled "Gorbachev's Opening Remarks at 14 Feb Session" published on pages 35-37 of the 14 February DAILY REPORT. Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 15 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 the apparent text of M.S. Gorbachev's 14 February opening address at the third USSR Supreme Soviet session. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, entitled "Quick and Decisive Actions Are Needed," with the translation of the Moscow Television Russian version reveals the following variations:

page 35, column one, paragraph nine PRAVDA begins ...[Text] Comrades, in opening... (omitting first two paragraphs);

paragraph ten, last sentence PRAVDA reads ...great responsibility of you and me.

Nor can one... (rewording);

paragraph 11, last sentence, PRAVDA reads ...and at the plenum of the... (omitting "February");

column two, paragraph one, sentence two PRAVDA reads ...of the economy. Urgent and long-term measures to... (adding "and");

paragraph three, sentence three, PRAVDA reads ...to restrict monopolism and group interests are not working. (rewording);

sentence seven, PRAVDA reads ...the other is permissible here, with... (omitting "totally");

paragraph five, sentence one, PRAVDA reads ...the course of reform we must... (omitting "economic");

page 36, column one, paragraph one, only sentence, PRAVDA reads ...can be found precisely on the course of perestroyka of the whole economic machinery and, furthermore, of the whole system of production relations. (rewording);

paragraph three, sentence two, PRAVDA reads... A great deal here depends on the... (rewording);

same sentence, to paragraph four PRAVDA reads ...country awaits the laws on property and land, as well as the whole package of economic laws.

The need for reforms and transformations is also felt just as acutely in other spheres. (rewording);

paragraph four, sentence four, PRAVDA reads ...the dangerous centrifugal, separatist tendencies by speeding up... (omitting passage);

last sentence, to paragraph five PRAVDA reads ...they may live.

We are all greatly concerned in connection with... (rewording);

paragraph five, only sentence, PRAVDA reads ...places of residence.

In the name... (omitting passage, picking up fourth paragraph);

paragraph seven, sentence three, PRAVDA reads ...is still tense. We must assign... (omitting passage);

paragraph eight, sentence one, PRAVDA reads ...decisions of the preceding session of the... (rewording);

same sentence, PRAVDA reads ...that led to a dramatic turn with grave consequences. Yet the principal sense of these decisions was to combine... (omitting passages);

column two, paragraph two, only sentence, PRAVDA reads ...formula deserves our attention when we return... (rewording);

paragraph three, sentence seven, PRAVDA reads... who, under the slogans of national... (omitting "banner and");

paragraph four, sentence three, PRAVDA reads ...the republics and locally the formation of a... (rewording);

sentence five, PRAVDA reads ...Constitution. All this taken together, as well as the continuing process... (rewording);

page 37, column one, paragraph two, sentence two, PRAVDA reads ...for us that this wholesome, democratic process and the awakened public initiative should not be... (rewording);

paragraph three, sentence one, PRAVDA reads ...declare themselves freely, to stand up for themselves within the framework of political structures, and to strive to... (rewording);

sentence three, PRAVDA reads ...wonders, did we introduce free elections? For... (rewording);

paragraph eight, sentence two, PRAVDA reads ...persistently and move forward resolutely. Only in... (omitting passage);

PRAVDA omits last paragraph.

## CPSU Central Committee Plenum

### Sverdlovsk Leader Catalogs Party's Failures

*PM0802145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Debate speech by V.D. Kadochnikov, first secretary of Sverdlovsk City CPSU Committee, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 6 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! The situation in the party and the country does not simply herald a storm, indeed—the storm is already upon us. These are not the words of someone who has lost his bearings; it is not a matter of deliberately laying it on. This is the increasingly firm appraisal of the prevailing situation by one of the largest city party organizations, our organization in Sverdlovsk.

The main point, I think, is that the people are presenting the ruling party with a check for the sufferings they have experienced not only as a result of the fetters and tragedies of the past but also through the mistakes—some considerable ones, at that—already committed in the course of perestroyka, the crisis phenomena in the economy and the financial sphere, the shortages, the almost legalized unearned incomes, the crimes which are committed virtually with impunity, and the almost universal decline of discipline. And also through the failure to take the measures envisaged by the law.

In making this last statement, I do not in any way pander to anyone's moods. There is no doubt that there is no sensible alternative to perestroyka, and yet there is no other way out except to speed up reforms.

It has already been noted during the plenum that the factors holding back our advance are the inconsistency and halfheartedness in implementing transformations, the lack of fundamental elaborations and firm determination to implement them along many avenues.

Indeed, there is a lot of talk about delineation between the functions of party and soviet organs. But what is actually happening? There are obvious delays in consolidating the power of local soviets, in legislatively expanding their powers, and in renewing their structures.

Has this promoted the party's prestige or any positive developments in society? I think not. Supporting evidence is provided by the results of the country's socioeconomic development last year, especially as regards the building of housing and facilities for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes, and this has a most tangible effect on the people's mood.

Take another question—the solution of the Food Program, about which a lot has been also said here. This problem is indeed among the most acute, above all in our industrially developed regions including Sverdlovsk Oblast. This is not because we are supposedly "freeloaders," as some people would like to claim. There have been many decisions, conferences, and seminars on agriculture, but there has been virtually no noticeable advance. To be honest, the Central Committee March Plenum failed to provide the necessary fillip and to justify the hopes associated with it. I think that we are past the stage of lurching between extremes or simply changing signs at agro-industrial complex institutions. People are fed up with this.

Unfortunately, the draft Central Committee platform for the congress, which has been submitted for the plenum participants' consideration, actually identifies as a priority avenue the strengthening of the material base of processing and storage. But this was one of the tasks set all of 20 years ago. It is indeed an important task. It is, however, perfectly clear, Comrades, that unless there is confidence that the fundamental avenues are correct, unless the peasant's alienation from the land is overcome, no measures concerning processing and storage will bring the least abundance to our store shelves and tables, even if five instead of two Central Committee secretaries are put in charge of the agrarian sector.

On the other hand, this is still the responsibility of local party committees. I for one, Yegor Kuzmich [Ligachev], fail to comprehend your statement that the system is really ineffective. But why do we not take to task those who are responsible for it? The ministries, the departments. Really, why is it that our agriculture and our agrarian sector are in such a state today? After all, there have been special Central Committee resolutions on this issue. Evidently, it is necessary to take to task not only the local primary party organization secretaries but also those whose job it is to tackle this matter.

I could carry on citing examples, Comrades. But this is not the point. In the process of sober political analysis, it is our duty to perceive the substance behind the phenomena. The bitter truth is that, as a result of such lurches, the party is steadily losing its vanguard positions despite the fact that they are enshrined in the Constitution and proclaimed in party documents. People want to see the leading role of the party acknowledged by them rather than enshrined in law.

Nurtured on certain political traditions, Communists and nonparty people already associate the failures with specific names in the Politburo and at local level. True enough, until recently it was not the done thing to talk of this aloud in a "decent society," but times have changed radically. People are now openly naming Ligachev, Medvedev, or Razumovskiy, certainly regardless of possible differences in their positions. Generally speaking, I support the proposal made here about the expediency of having both Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries account for their assigned sectors of work at local level before the congress.

Recently, and especially following the elections of the country's people's deputies, several oblasts have gone through a process of growing mistrust of party leaders. It also reached our own region. But that was no surprise. The Central Committee was aware of the prevailing situations and moods. But we are still waiting for something to happen. We are not making decisions in good time. The Central Committee does not always accept as a weighty argument the voice of even the largest city party organizations, never mind that of individual Communists. Just as before, the center is indecisive, and at times it is not even prepared to heed the opinion of party organizations. Generally speaking, one gets the impression that the Central Committee's cadre policy is, in many respects, still following the tracks of painfully familiar traditions. How else could one explain not only the cadre crisis in a number of regions but also the latest practical experience in electing CPSU Central Committee secretaries and members of the Russian Bureau.

Please understand me correctly. I do not in any way raise doubts about the prestige and standing of the comrades who were elected. But how am I to explain to Communists that the candidates themselves learned about their proposed election only on the eve of the September Plenum? Never mind about consultations, according to present-day usage, with local party organizations where these comrades worked before. How am I to answer this question: Did anyone consult at least the largest party organizations as regards the Central Committee Russian Bureau and its personnel composition? Furthermore, I personally cannot understand how people who are not Central Committee members can be members of the Central Committee Bureau? After all, the statute is still in force; nobody has repealed it yet. Comrades, none of these questions today is a matter of indifference; they are acutely perturbing for Communists and nonparty people alike. Their undemocratic solution enhances political tension and diminishes the prestige of the Central Committee and of the party as a whole.

It is necessary to radically change the practice of cadre policy at all levels. It is well known that appropriate guidelines were elaborated at the 19th party conference, and I—in my capacity as conference delegate—voted in favor of its decisions. Unfortunately, however, we are applying them under the pressure of circumstances.

Comrades! The constant delays in analyzing and working out the prospects of the party's and society's renewal deprive us of clear guidelines in ideological and organizational work. Pluralism of opinions and evaluations is necessary. But what is extremely necessary—in fact the need for it has been long felt—is a considered and scientifically substantiated strategy of reform. Its draft has been submitted to plenum participants. Will it live up to expectations? After all, the hopes associated with today's plenum are indeed tremendous. We simply have no right to let them down, because the results of a possible disappointment are unpredictable.

Without covering the entire draft, let me dwell on its key section—"Renewal of the Party." It must be noted that it contains a whole series of proposals which were also suggested by Sverdlovsk Oblast and City party organizations.

We also perceive numerous arguable aspects, insufficiently radical proposals, many glib phrases. But, in order to conduct a fruitful debate, it is necessary to comprehend the deep-rooted principles of the party's renewal. Unfortunately, they are somehow hardly visible behind the abundance of words in the suggested draft.

Proceeding from the proposals contained in the Sverdlovsk City party organization platform, I believe that this route for the CPSU's renewal offers a path from a party whose leading role is constitutionally enshrined to a party whose right to exercise leadership is affirmed through constant struggle for the working people's interests; from a party working within the framework of a single-party system to a party prepared to act in conditions of political pluralism; from a party with deformed democratic centralism to a party built on democratic principles whereby the minority's rights are guaranteed; from a party where central organs lay down everything to a party where primary organizations are really the foundations and enjoy broad rights.

It is fundamentally important to ensure that these tenets are reflected in the platform and the new statute. In exactly the same way, I believe that the CPSU Central Committee must come forward with a legislative initiative on the adoption of a USSR Law on the Party.

Comrades! Unfortunately, the time allowed for an answer to many vital questions has virtually run out. Time is pressing more than ever before. People are fed up with waiting. In these conditions, I share the view expressed in the report and the comrades' speeches that our plenum simply must make a decision to bring the congress forward. This is my first point. Second. I disagree with many of the speakers and support those who deem it expedient to conduct the report and election campaign in party organizations during the post-congress period.

Let's give this some thought: The last two years have seen report and election meetings in party and other public organizations one after the other. A complex situation developed around the elections of USSR people's deputies. Elections to republican and local soviets will probably end in March, only to be followed by yet another event. So, when will we get down to work? Nothing but sittings.

On the other hand, we have also already accumulated negative experience, when people's deputies were elected without having a firm status. The same option is being offered now: There are no structures, no way of telling what comes under what. This is why we believe that the proposed option for holding the report and election meetings will map out specific ways for implementing the party congress decisions and for electing new party organs and cadres already on the basis of renewed approaches.

And a third point. I share the already expressed view that the success of the congress and the trust in its decisions and elected organs will be determined to a decisive degree by the procedure for electing its delegates and by every party member's having an opportunity to participate in this process. In this context, the oblast party organizations suggests that the plenum suspend the effect of Article 44 in the statute as curtailing the democratic nature of elections of party congress delegates and adopt a decision that direct, secret, and multicandidate elections are held in party okrugs; unfortunately we have not seen this in the Central Committee commission's proposals, and we do believe it to be a question of fundamental importance.

In the event that no decision on direct election is adopted, I propose that this question be submitted to a party-wide referendum. It is well known that a whole series of party organizations have already made similar applications to the Central Committee. Once again we see a certain procrastination, a wait-and-see attitude, and a number of proposals are already being couched in ultimatum terms. Let me refer to the resolution by the "Uralmashzavod" party organization (many comrades have asked me questions about it here), which says that its participants deem it possible to suspend the remittance of party membership dues if the February Plenum disregards the very proposals I mentioned earlier.

Of course, comrades, ultimatums are not the best means in politics. In the prevailing situation, however, it would be a sign of political short sight not to heed proposals from Communists at local level. Otherwise the situation may simply get out of hand.

In conclusion, I support the proposals by some comrades and by Vitaliy Ivanovich [Vorotnikov], who said a short while ago that it is necessary to hold a congress of Russian Federation Communists prior to the 28th Party Congress.

## Miner Discusses CPSU's 'Self-Flagellation'

*PM0902100990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*8 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Debate speech by A.P. Myasnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, excavator operator at the

Korshunovskiy mining and enrichment combine, Irkutsk Oblast, at CPSU Central Committee Plenum 6 February]

[Text] Comrades, we must all be utterly frank and honest today. We have reached a point in perestroyka where, in the light of the events in a number of socialist countries, the time has come squarely and unequivocally to raise the question of the further destiny of our party and the socialist choice as such.

The process of the renewal of our society is proceeding with difficulty and is accompanied by a growing number of pernicious, destructive phenomena in the economy which has been transformed into a testing ground for highly disorganized and unbalanced experiments. The impetus is building up for a social explosion with unpredictable consequences. The situation in the country is aggravated as a result of the escalation of interethnic conflicts and the events in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Baltic republics. All this has put in jeopardy the government program for improving the state of the economy which was approved by the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

There are also quite a lot of paradoxes and contradictions in the implementation of the political reform. Personally, I cannot find an answer to the following question: "Why, has the mechanism for protecting the constitutional system become so extremely weak at such a crucial stage of development?" Clearly, this is an incomprehensible and paradoxical situation. On the one hand, there is a propaganda boom and all the fine ideas concerning the rule-of-law state, and on the other hand there is juridical helplessness and an inability on the part of state organs to protect the elementary interests of the state and the individual. The process of democratization is frequently reminiscent of "one-way traffic" here. Everything that leads to the dismantling of existing economic and political structures is declared democratic and enjoys the broadest support of the mass media. And on the other hand, any attempt to counter attacks on socialism and the party, any appeal for restraint and for objective assessments of the situation provokes a storm of accusations and is branded as conservatism.

Worse still, conditions of unrestricted freedom have been created in the country for the activities of various antisocialist, extremist, and nationalist groupings which, as the events in the Baltic republics and Azerbaijan have shown, are capable of creating a real threat to perestroyka.

The situation within the party itself remains complex and contradictory. Many party organizations have proved unable to spearhead the perestroyka in important production and spiritual education areas, and have begun to lag behind the democratic processes under way in society. A devaluation has occurred of many reforms and methods of party-organizational and ideological work. Party committees have failed to entirely rid themselves of elements of bureaucracy and stage-management, their influence on the course of the economic reform and the development of the social sphere has declined, and sometimes they are unable to establish a constructive dialogue with the various social movements.

While acknowledging that the criticism of local party organs is justified, it must be noted at the same time that there has also been foot-dragging on the part of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the apparatus in evaluating events and indecision in implementing practical measures to stabilize the situation in the country and in the party.

There are reasons for raising this question. The party is in a state of crisis, it is gasping for breath under the burden of accusations of past and present mistakes. The criticism leveled by the people at the party is largely justified. However, it is impossible to agree with the process of self-flagellation in the party now being taken to such lengths, with the help of the mass media, that in a number of cases it resembles organizational and ideological disarmament.

A revision of Marxism-Leninism and of the results of the October Revolution is in full swing. Yet there is no sign of a proper response to this from the top echelons of the party leadership. Sometimes it is difficult to find a convincing answer to the questions of Communists and nonparty people as to why this is happening, why the party has allowed itself to be pushed onto the defensive, why there is no resolute rebuttal of antiparty forces.

Quite a lot of criticism is leveled at the Central Committee for failing to keep Communists informed and for adopting willful decisions on questions of fundamental importance. Specifically, as regards the formation of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee. In my opinion, old approaches on the part of the party leadership to the evaluation of its activities are tolerated. Not everything is going smoothly. Clearly, there have been mistakes and miscalculations. Why then is there only one form of words—approval—at Politburo sessions in respect of the activities of its members? The optimism in assessing the progress of perestroyka in the spiritual and ideological sphere is not entirely justified either. To be frank, what is happening here is quite worrying. The processes of democratization and glasnost have failed to live up to people's expectations. Spiritual values and morality are declining, while crime is on the increase, and forces which seek to destroy the Marxist-Leninist ideology and to point public consciousness in a direction which is diametrically opposed to the socialist option are stepping up their activities. In questions of the interpretation of new problems and phenomena and forecasting their sociopolitical consequences we proceed by trial and error. Unfortunately, not everyone has grasped that our efforts to develop democratizaton and glasnost will be devalued if people's unfettered consciousness is channeled in the petit-bourgeois direction, if one set of ideological stereotypes is replaced by another in the shape of dismantled ideals, deformed morality, and intellectual and moral cynicism.

In short, Comrades, the crisis situation in the country demands from the party, its Central Committee, and local party organs a clear-cut, principled stance and resolute action to deepen perestroyka and radically renew the party itself.

In formulating the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Congress, we must define our stance on the most important issues. What do I have in mind? First, I believe, the platform must enshrine guarantees to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist, internationalist basis of our party and to preserve the unity of its ranks. I am emphasizing this in connection with mounting attempts to split the party along ethnic and ideological lines and to point its development in the direction of social democracy. This is borne out by the emergence of various groupings in the party and specifically the "Democratic Platform" association of Communists.

Attempts to legitimize factionalism in the party and to make use of it to split the party ranks call for a critical attitude. I am convinced that the question is long overdue of dissociating ourselves ideologically and organizationally from CPSU members who, by virtue of their actions, have placed themselves to all intents and purposes outside the framework of the Statutes. This could be done by recertification of Communists on the basis of the CPSU platform prior to the congress, or on the basis of the new Statutes after the congress. It is appropriate in this context to recall Vladimir Ilich Lenin's words that the party is a voluntary union which will inevitably disintegrate, first ideologically and then physically, unless it keeps ridding itself of members who proclaim antiparty views. A reliable safeguard against a split in the party could be provided by the revival of the Leninist concept of democratic centralism which, on the one hand, would guarantee the supremacy of the majority, broad democracy and glasnost, and full freedom of expression and opinions and, on the other, would clearly define guarantees for the right of the minority to openly express and uphold its stances, and also the right of party organizations or groups of Communists to submit alternative solutions to questions—within the framework of the CPSU Program and Statutes, it goes without saying.

Second, the CPSU Central Committee platform must clearly define the place and role of the renewed party in the political structure of society. Realistically speaking, we will come to both a revision of Article 6 and a multiparty system. The whole question is when this will happen. I am convinced that the country is not yet ready to switch to a multiparty system. This would not mean more milk or meat. On the other hand, it would inevitably sharply exacerbate the social tension within society and the struggle for power. It cannot be ignored that antisocialist and extremist elements are operating within the framework of a number of social movements which aspire to the role of political parties. A vivid example of this is the authorized rally which took place before the opening of the party Central Committee plenum. At the present stage of perestroyka, the CPSU must retain the role of a political vanguard, inspirer and organizer of revolutionary transformations, and guarantor of our society's progress along the socialist path and of the consolidation of all healthy forces on the perestroyka platform.

Third, when enshrining in the platform a new mechanism for the functioning of party organizations, it is necessary above all to ensure the supremacy of the party masses over the elective organs and the apparatus, to enable every Communist to actively influence the adoption and implementation of decisions and the selection and deployment of party cadres. Questions pertaining to the mutual relations between superior and subordinate party organs must be reviewed. We must resolutely rid ourselves of petty tutelage from the center. Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself insisted on recognition of the autonomy of party organizations. They must have greater independence in the choice of the forms and methods of their work, in questions of admitting and expelling members from their ranks, and in questions of the staffing and structure of party apparatuses, financial expenditure, and so forth. This will lead to a considerable enrichment of the theoretical and practical arsenal of party work.

Fourth, one of the key questions is the definition of the competence and functions of party organs in the new conditions. The process of their transformation into organs of political leadership is gathering momentum. After the adoption of the package of draft laws on expanding the independence and powers of the soviets of people's deputies, they will fully take over the functions of economic management. What, apart from elaborating the strategic line in the development of society and the protection of the working people's political interests, will be the task of the party and its organs? The question remains open. What we need is a mechanism to regulate mutual relations between the Central Committee and the party congress on the one hand, and the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies on the other. This problem also relates entirely to local party and soviet organs. A collective quest for a solution is needed here, up to and including the introduction of corresponding amendments to the USSR Constitution.

However, under any division of labor, so to speak, it is essential to preserve the key component of this mechanism—the coupling of the posts of Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This question is of fundamental importance at the current stage of perestroyka.

Comrade members of the Central Committee! The questions of preparations for the 28th Party Congress have aroused tremendous interest and a mighty wave of political activity among the Communists of the Angara region. The oblast's Communists propose that the next party congress, the 28th, be held no later than June of this year and that the report-and-election campaign in party organizations be held after the congress—which will make it possible to bring the structure of party organs in line with the new CPSU Statutes and assure an exhaustive analysis of the work of the February Central Committee Plenum.

I ask the plenum participants to consider these proposals attentively and with respect, since they reflect the will of a substantial number of Irkutsk Oblast Communists.

## Tajikistan Situation

### Dushanbe Radio Reports on Tajikistan Situation

#### Investigation of Deaths Urged

*LD1502112890 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Hello, dear comrades. On 14 February there was a session of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau which examined a number of (?important) matters, first and foremost on the (?production) of vitally important industries, directly linked with providing services to the population. It was recommended that the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium create a deputies' commission to investigate instances of deaths of people during the tragic events. By decision of the bureau, a press center has been set up under the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. It has been given the responsibility for reliable reporting of the events of the past few days on the streets of the capital, for the veracity of news for the republican mass media. It also examined lofty tasks of restoring law and order in the capital and alleviation of the situation.

#### Self-Defense Groups Set Up in Dushanbe

*LD1402231790 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1716 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Dear listeners: After appeals to the people of Tajikistan, after various kinds of advice was heard, in various parts of the capital people's groups have been set up who have come out to protect themselves. Now we talk to people who have come out in districts of the capital.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] about the group you have set up.

[Unidentified speaker] (?The aim of our group) is to (?control) our district so that there will be no clashes or bloodshed and so that everybody may live the same way. [words indistinct] Tajik or Russian or other nationalities all must live. Life for all of them is equal. [passage indistinct]

#### Preacher at Mosque Appeals to People

*LD1402203990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1500 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Attention. We now broadcast an appeal to the people by Khabibkhan Shakhidzade, preacher of the congregational mosque of the central district of the city of Dushanbe:

We take refuge in God from the wicked satan. In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful.

Dear brothers, extremely dear brothers,

A difficult incident, an unexpected incident has taken place in our homeland. If we do not stop it in the beginning, it will lead us to grave misfortunes. I swear by God who sent the Prophet as his messenger, that I am an individual like you. I am not connected with any internal bodies or any place. Of course some of these people may know me. I swear by the pure nature of God that my whole body trembles when I hear of this bloodshed, this grave situation, this misfortune. My body trembles because one of our young people leaves this world for nothing. He goes without any reason from this beautiful world.

I would like to say, my dear brothers, that I waited for a few days. At last, thank God, I got hold of this microphone and this loudspeaker. I would like to express my opinion now so that my brothers will not be involved in irrational affairs. Because, when we destroy a magazine or a plant, we ourselves must repair it—it is a loss. [words indistinct]. He who commits cruelty does not consider the people and does not pay attention to them. I beg of you as a brother and a Muslim, be patient [words indistinct]. When you lose your patience, our brothers are hurt. [passage omitted].

#### Tajik Authorities Send Condolences

*LD1402112390 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1007 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] with profound sorrow announce the tragic deaths of people as a result of the mass disorders provoked by hooligan and extremist elements in the city of Dushanbe and express profound condolences to the families and relatives of those killed.

#### Residents Asked To Remain 'Calm'

*NC1502094590 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0838 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] This is Dushanbe. Here is a report from the press center:

The situation in Dushanbe is returning to normal but is still tense. Certain extremist elements are (?spreading) subversive calls for the continuation of terrorist (?sabotage) provocations and (?arson). We request the people not to close down the factories.

Some unidentified persons are planning to (?indulge in arson). They are [words indistinct] from Armenia, Tajikistan and [words indistinct] cities and have asked the people to assemble on the main streets of these cities. Do not (?heed the words) of this irresponsible and (?uncaring) group.

The Communist Party Central Committee of Tajikistan asks you to remain calm and continue your own work and to completely avoid all encounters with the arsonist and vagrant group. [words indistinct] Reject all baseless and speculative reports and only listen to reports on the radio and television and [words indistinct].

Dear friends: We will inform you of any (?reports) we receive.

## Moscow Newspapers Update Tajikistan Events

### Soldiers Fire Into Air

*PM1502112190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 90 p 1*

[Report by A. Ganelin and A. Mursaliyev:" Dushanbe, 14 February"]

[Text] Shooting can be heard outside the window of the correspondents' center. But the soldiers only fire into the air when warnings are completely ignored by the crowd. Despite the requirements of the state of emergency, which bans meetings, people are again assembling for a rally. Since this morning they have been making their way in small groups to the square in front of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee building. But the square and adjoining streets are solidly blocked off by military hardware.

A plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee has been in session since this morning. And although Central Committee First Secretary K. Makhkamov had spoken earlier at a rally of his readiness to resign, the plenum expressed complete confidence in him and the Central Committee Bureau.

We too headed for the Central Committee building. Before we left Vasilyev, chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] temporary press center in Tajikistan, after reporting the death of one correspondent and the beating up of another, warned us that we should only move around under escort. But then he made clear that we could not be assisted with either transportation or protection.

There was disorder on the square in front of the Central Committee building. The Central Committee building shows the traces of a fire. There was not a pane of glass left intact. Soldiers with assault rifles were posted at every window as if at an embrasure.

The MVD press release reports that on 12-13 February 143 citizens received bodily injuries and 11 people died, including a staffer of the Lenfilm movie studio. He had gone out onto the balcony of an apartment block in an attempt to film the events taking place outside the Central Committee building. His filming was brought to an abrupt end by a stray bullet....

Today has passed relatively calmly. International self-defense detachments composed of people of various nationalities have been set up in a number of residential districts and neighborhoods to guard against pogromists. They themselves are maintaining order where they live, since the soldiers are mainly protecting administrative buildings.

Military helicopters are overflying the city. The situation is complex. Immediately after the plenum talks began between the republic leadership and the people's committee elected at yesterday's rally. The committee is headed by B. Karimov, chairman of the republic State Planning Committee. The people's committee's demands run to almost 20 points: the resignation of the republic leadership; the lifting of the curfew and the withdrawal of the troops; the declaration of 12 February, when the people died in front of the Central Committee building, a day of mourning; the reduction of the administrative organs' apparatus....

The talks between the republic leadership and the informals have stretched into the evening. Several times the informals have told journalists that it looks as if their demands are being accepted. But we have still received no official announcement.

### Election-Wrecking Seen Behind Riots

*PM1402224390 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Feb 90 p 4*

[I. Saidov report: "Dangerous Folly"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 14 Feb—I am dictating this report from the premises of the House of the Press. A rally numbering many thousands of people has been in progress for several hours now by the republic's Council of Ministers building just a few meters away. The streets are being patrolled by infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. The air above the city is constantly rent by the mighty rotors of helicopters monitoring the situation.

On 13 February the situation in central Dushanbe was completely under the control of Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] troops and militia squads. But in residential districts the situation was more complex—rampaging young hooligans wreaked havoc, smashed the windows of stores, houses, and vehicles, and attacked passers by. The entire city transport service stopped working from about 1000 hours, which has aggravated the situation. The city's inhabitants had to go home on foot along streets where they often ran into hooligans. The absence of militia in residential districts had the gravest consequences.

Today many of the republic's inhabitants rightly blame the law enforcement agencies for failing to prevent the bloody events in the Tajik capital. Many people claim that MVD workers knew of the impending attack on the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee building a week ago but despite that did not take effective measures.

The first night under curfew conditions passed peacefully. In the evening local television broadcast an appeal from labor, war, and party veterans to young people to preserve the peace and not aggravate the situation. The words of the old are greatly respected in the East. This appeal will also undoubtedly play its role. But nevertheless, this morning did not bode well. Many Dushanbe people did not venture out to work. City transportation remained at the depots.

In response to an appeal from K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, men at a number of enterprises and in local neighborhoods have formed self-defense detachments. The city's streets are being patrolled by workers volunteer militia with military servicemen assigned to them. The bulk of the city's enterprises stand idle. Local and central newspapers are not reaching readers. Schools are closed.

At approximately 1000 hours bursts of automatic gunfire rang out above the city—once again blanks were being used to disperse crowds of youths. Tanks were stationed in front of public buildings. In the afternoon local radio broadcast a demand to clear the roadway along streets in the center to provide a passage for the troops being brought into the city.

The bread shortage in the Tajik capital is into its second day. Hooligans are stopping the delivery trucks en route for trade centers and ransacking them. The majority of food stores are closed. The telephone service is working badly, telephone calls within the city are difficult and contact with other cities virtually impossible. This is aggravating the situation still further, causing confusion and panic and helping to create the most improbable rumors and conjectures. Spontaneous rallies are being held in many places. Candidate deputies of the republic's supreme organ of power have been addressing them, appealing to the people for calm and order. Here is the opinion of one of them, Dodadzhon Ismailov, head of a department at the Tajik State University:

"What is happening is a disgrace to the nation, a stain on its many centuries of history. That is the only way that I can describe the pogroms perpetrated by adolescents and young people and the slogans which the crowds are issuing. The Tajik people have always been known for their friendliness and hospitality. It is impossible to believe that the arrival of a few refugees from the Caucasus could cause such a stormy reaction. You get the impression that this was just a pretext. There are organizers behind this crowd, its actions are being directed by someone. There is no doubt that these people want to force their way into power this way. I think it is no coincidence that events developed precisely on the eve of the republic's Supreme Soviet elections. It will be impossible to hold normal elections in such an atmosphere—which is what they are after. I myself am a convinced internationalist. One of the main points of my election program is the nationalities question. My position is that everything which inflames dissension should be prevented and everything which unites people should be asserted."

## 'Mass Vandalism' Reported

*PM1402164190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Dispatch by Aleksandr Karpov under general heading "Direct Line; IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Situation Remains Complex"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The republic's leaders appeared on local television on the evening of 13 February. Addressing the population of Dushanbe, K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, stressed that an extremely unfavorable situation has taken shape in the city. Pogroms, beatings, arson, and looting are continuing in various regions of the capital. Attempts to normalize the situation have so far failed to bring tangible results.

That was true. In the past 24 hours over 100 seriously wounded people have been delivered to the capital's "emergency treatment" departments alone, and two have died. Eleven fires have been recorded. Acts of mass vandalism have been manifested in the toppled kiosks and smashed store windows and the wrecked and burnt-out automobiles. During our tours of the city hooligans threw stones at two vehicles belonging to the correspondents' center and the IZVESTIYA publishing house department and broke the windows. V. Ivashchenko, a photocorrespondent for the newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, was taken to hospital in a serious condition: He was attacked while he was taking photographs for an issue of the newspaper.

Alarmed Dushanbe inhabitants have telephoned the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center and reported that pogromists in the city's microrayons are attacking people with impunity and perpetrating robbery and violence in apartments while the militia responds to appeals for help by frankly stating that it is unable to act.

"Indeed," D. Karimov, first secretary of the party gorkom [city committee], admitted, "the situation is almost uncontrollable. Subunits of the internal troops and units from the Dushanbe garrison, focusing their attention on the city's central, administrative area, have lost control over everything happening in the residential areas."

How could such a thing happen? After all, only a year ago the city's inhabitants welcomed cordially and with traditional hospitality the refugees from the earthquake regions in Armenia and gave them temporary shelter and the opportunity to get over their misfortunes in normal human conditions. The Dushanbe people did this sincerely. But now.... Who stands to gain from blood on the streets of a kindly and welcoming city? Who are they, the people who are vaguely spoken of as "certain extremist elements?"

On the evening of 13 February preparation was completed to dispatch another Tu-154 aircraft carrying refugees on a special flight to Yerevan.

Late in the evening an extraordinary plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee met urgently. Those taking part discussed the situation which has taken shape. B. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

## Moscow Radio Updates Tajikistan Developments

### Dushanbe Situation Termed 'Complex'

*LD1402142190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] The temporary press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Tajikistan reports that the situation in Dushanbe for the last 24 hours remains complex.

After a decree on an emergency situation was adopted, the night of 12 February was relatively calm. However, after 0900 on 13 February the situation deteriorated once again. The number of people taking part in extremist actions increased. Setting fire to and looting various facilities continues. During the disorder, 143 were wounded on 12-13 February, and 11 people died; 31 people were detained for committing crimes. An investigation is under way.

According to reports from our correspondent, the shortage of bread is making itself felt today and long lines are forming. The city's transport is at a standstill. Guerrillas [boeviki] are flooding into Dushanbe from the rayons, and a self-defense group is being formed among the population. Law and order bodies are taking measures to prevent mass disorders.

### Dushanbe 'More or Less Calm'

*LD1402182490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Our own correspondent in Dushanbe, (Muzafar Madzhedov), reports over the telephone:

[Madzhedov] The situation in Dushanbe today has been calm since morning. Maybe because the curfew has at last taken effect. Some law-breakers were detained. Also this morning the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee extraordinary plenum has taken place. The plenum has expressed its full confidence in the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Buro, and Kakhar Makhkamov, Central Committee first secretary, and has obliged them to take every measure to stabilize the situation in the city and the republic.

But the lull proved to be temporary. At 12 o'clock groups of youths started to draw towards the city center. The city defenders' camp has also received reinforcements. Yesterday over 5,000 thugs took part in pogroms, excesses, arson. For the first time, the microrayon inhabitants resisted them. From this morning people's defense units started to form in various districts of the city. They act resolutely defending their homes and honor.

But in spite of this the militants are continuing their dark deeds. Groups of the most aggressively minded young people are stopping private and state vehicles, overturning them and setting them alight. Closer to evening militants appeared who drove around town in trucks and cars without numbers, already armed with sawed-off shotguns and petrol bombs. And meanwhile, at the buildings of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee and of the republican Council of Ministers, wars of words were going on. Those gathered put forward nearly 20 proposals in the form of an ultimatum, often impossible to fulfil. At one stage they threatened to set fire to the (Dzhami) cinema and the adjoining buildings. As a result of this, the town commandant Navzhuvanov announced that interior troops would act in accordance with the requirements of the state of emergency. It is now more or less calm in the center. The cordon has been called off.

### Yet 'Remains Extremely Tense'

*LD1402232890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Human malice knows no bounds indeed! In the past two days participants in the pogroms have looted 24 shops, 19 communal services outlets, 25 kiosks and stalls, six administrative buildings, a long-distance telephone office and a savings bank, destroyed trolleybuses and cars, and wrecked 22 ambulances. The hooligans are beating up people in the streets.

As Major General (Felistovich), deputy head of the Internal Security forces administration for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, has told TASS correspondents: On 13 February, at the meeting in front of the republican Communist Party Central Committee building, the demonstrators were demanding immediate resignation of the government and the Tajik party Central Committee and the banishment of all Armenians from Tajikistan. The calls "Make the Russians answer for everything!" were sounded. Makhkamov, the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, addressed the gathering with appeals to stop the riots. This did not help. Those pushing toward the rostrum began to press on the military personnel of the internal security forces who were surrounding it. The soldiers were holding back the crowd's onslaught as best they could. Then stones, broken glass, and bottles with inflammable liquid and sulfuric acid started flying at them. The soldiers were being strangled by garottes made from electric cables and dragged out of their formation by steel boathooks.

All the same, we are trying to solve the problems peacefully, continues Felistovich. Unfortunately, this is not always successful. But weapons are used only in extreme situations—when actual assaults on military personnel are taking place. Soviet Army forces are guarding the key establishments providing for normal life in the city. The families of military personnel living in Dushanbe have been accomodated in two military settlements. The threats against them are unceasing.

Active propaganda work is being carried out among the population. Leaflets are being distributed in the Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek languages calling for restraint, levelheadedness, and resistance to provocations from the lawbreakers. Self-defense groups of city dwellers are forming in the city.

The situation in Dushanbe remains extremely tense. Pogroms and arson continue. According to the USSR Interior Ministry report, 11 people have died since the beginning of the events, and 194 people have been injured. These include 48 militia personnel and three military personnel from the internal security forces. These figures are being checked. Criminal proceedings have been taken regarding the disturbances, and 58 people have been detained.

## Moscow International Reports Tajik Events

### Reports Note 'Too Few Troops'

*LD1402223490 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] According to reports coming in from Dushanbe, the capital of the Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan, the situation there remains tense. A TASS correspondent, Vitaliy Zhukov, told our reporter Yuriy Minayev in a telephone interview that the situation in Dushanbe was out of control everywhere except the city center where troops were deployed. There have been further riots and violence, but there have been too few troops to curb the unrest. Only some TASS reporters managed to get to their job today. Zhukov tried to get into the premises of the Communist Party Central Committee building but wasn't allowed into the building. Regrettably he said, nationalist actions were now aimed openly against non-Tajiks.

Non-Tajiks are compelled to form self-defense groups. In the block of flats where he lives, Vitaliy Zhukov has been entered into a list of militia to defend the local residents if necessary. Zhukov said that now it is hard to make a conclusion about a single package of demands. There have been calls to close pollutant enterprises and give factories more economic independence. The newly formed Popular Front has been demanding that the republic's government resign. Some Tajik women who have not been wearing national dresses have been insulted and beaten. In Vitaliy Zhukov's words, it has been announced at a plenum of the republic's Central Committee that troop reinforcements are to arrive in the city soon.

Meanwhile our repoter Irena Simonova has reached on the phone one of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet senior officials, Miss Adolat Kasymova. Her answers were brief. Asked to describe the situation at the moment she said:

[Begin Adolat recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The situation is very complex. There has been no relaxation so far. Disturbances have been continuing; I've been kept away from home for the third day. [end recording]

The member of the Communist Party Central Committee has reported that negotiations took place on Wednesday between the leadership and the newly created People's Committee. She said:

[Resume Adolat recording] I don't know about the outcome of these talks but during the negotiations tensions somewhat subsided. But on Wednesday morning a riot continued in various districts. The situation is unpredictable. [end recording]

### 'Extremists' Provoking Unrest

*LD1402191690 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] The situation in Dushanbe, capital of the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, remains tense following large scale unrest. A spokesman of the Tajik mission in Moscow, Ivan Shebchenko has supplied the following details to our report.

[Begin Shebchenko recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] [passage omitted]

I believe there is a well-organized center that coordinated the unrest. Of whom does it consist? Extremists lusting for power and wishing to provoke chaos in the republic. I don't think that the timing is accidental. The republic's regiment is now in Transcaucasia helping to settle the conflict between Azerbaijanis and Armenians. They also took into account the general situation in the country and the fact that an election campaign is underway. However, the main thing is that all the means and forces are now concentrated in Transcaucasia. Besides, the extremists have won over to their side 15, 16 year-old boys—the most unstable part of the younger generation—bolstering their spirits with drugs and alcohol. [passage omitted]

There are no guarantees that what happened on Monday won't happen again some other day. The heart of the city was cleared on Tuesday but disturbances continued in the outsirts. [end recording]

### Agreement Reached on Resignation, Troops

*LD1502123190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] The situation in the Tajik capital Dushanbe is stabilizing after several days of mass disturbances. According to the independent news agency INTERFAX an agreement was reached at a meeting between the leadership of the republic and spokesmen of informal movements on the resignation of the Communist Party and government leaders of the Tajik Republic, also on withdrawing troops from the center of the city and on reducing their numbers.

The informal organisations are also demanding to solve the problems of unemployment, youth, large families, and to close down an ecologically dangerous aluminum plant. The news agency reports that 17 people were killed in the disturbances and pogroms. Three days of mourning have been proclaimed for the dead.

### Unrest Reported in Dushanbe, Elsewhere

*LD1402120290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Tatyana Mitkova] Externally, what is happening in Tajikistan has interethnic relations as its basis; but I repeat, only externally. You recall that everything began there with the slogan: Down with Armenians!, but I repeat that this is only the external outline of the events. The Armenian refugees have been taken away, yet the situation is far from stabilized.

Demands are now being made at mass meetings for an improvement in the economic situation in the republic; for the closure of the aluminium works in Tursanzade; for the creation of special meat shops where no pork would be sold—Muslims do not eat it, as you know; and for bringing the way Tajik surnames are written into line with the traditional national system. Slogans have also appeared which call for the government to retire.

Incidentally, the organizers of the disturbanaces have been freed. This, too, was one of the demands of those at the meetings.

Reports are coming in that there is unrest in other regions of Tajikistan as well.

### Dushanbe Situation Becoming 'Even Graver'

*LD1402173690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Madzhidov, identified by screen caption]

[Text] Today, during the first day's work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, many deputies, when mentioning interethnic conflicts, are talking about the events in Baku and Dushanbe. As before, the situation in the capital of Tajikistan remains tense. Our correspondent reports:

[Madzhidov] Despite the declaration of a state of emergency, the situation in Dushanbe has become even graver. On 13 February, at the building of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee a crowd of people again gathered. What was taking place in the square did not look much like a rally.

The slogans and demands had changed. From time to time voices rang out: If you cannot lead, hand over power to the clergy! They have already forgotten about the refugees, which was what the Dushanbe tragedy started with. Those gathered were not about to accept any compromises. They put forward an ultimatum that if the authorities do not release from custody the instigators of the disorders arrested earlier, then they will systematically continue to break and destroy everything.

Other ultimatums were also put forward. The ringleaders were released, but the pogroms continued. An enormous army of rogues engaged in hooliganism were at the very same time committing excesses in outlying residential areas [mikrorayonakh]. Their number was added to those who arrived from suburban villages and rayons to pillage. Operational units of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs have informed us that over 5,000 people took part in pogroms and arson. [video shows square with smoking building in the background, street scene with civilians standing around an armored car, people standing on the flat roof of a building holding an illegible red banner, a pan shot of assembled crowds from behind an armored personnel carrier (APC), crowds marching though a fountain, crowd surrounding an APC waving their right arms in salute, shops with smashed windows, a smoking car and burning kiosks]

Over 48 hours, 24 shops and 19 communal [bytovogo] service establishments, kiosks, and administrative buildings were broken-up and pillaged. The situation in the city was almost out of control.

Party and government leaders have appealed to the Tajik people and Dushanbe inhabitants on republic television. They called on the inhabitants of Dushanbe to resist the rogues engaged in hooliganism. People's militia groups, which are already operational, have started to be set up in residential areas.

Today an extraordinary plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee took place in Dushanbe. The plenum expressed full confidence in the Buro of the Communist Party Central Committee of Tajikistan and in Kakhar Makhkamov, the Central Committee first secretary.

Reinforcements arrived in Dushanbe today but the situation remains extremely tense. [video shows street scene with crowd and debris, an orator speaking to a crowd, soldiers and two APC's outside a building, a line of soldiers or militiamen with riot shields, a repeat of the clips of the soldiers and two APC's outside a building and the street scene with a crowd and debris, soldiers or militamen running along a pavement with riot shields]

## TASS Continues Reportage of Tajikistan Events

### Situation Deteriorates

*LD1402182590 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Dushanbe, Tajikistan, February 14 TASS—The situation in the capital of Soviet Tajikistan, swept by ethnic riots, sharply deteriorated today after a relatively calm night.

According to Tajik Interior Minister Mamadayez Navzhuvanov, who has been appointed military commandant of the city, 12 people were killed and 143 injured, including 50 members of law-enforcement bodies and troops.

The riots were sparked by rumours that Armenian refugees from Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, were coming to Tajikistan en masse and given preference for new housing over local residents.

On February 12, authorities had to declare a state of emergency in Dushanbe.

Despite assurances by the Tajik government that the number of Armenian refugees in Tajikistan did not exceed 40 and that all of them had already left the republic. Disorders continue.

The number of rioters has reached 5,000. Pogroms, lootings and arson have spread to the city's suburbs.

Militants continue to attack passers-by, irrespective of their nationality, and to stone public transport. Twenty-two ambulances have been destroyed.

Militants have been making attempts to reach the Tajik Communist Party headquarters since this morning. Crowds throw petrol bombs, bottles with sulphuric acid and stones at troops blocking the buildig's entrances.

Crowds have changed their slogans. Now they demand that the republican government and communist parts leaders resign and that all Armenians living in Tajikistan be expelled.

Militants have begun to threaten ethnic Russians, troops and their families.

Additional landing units arrived in Dushanbe this afternoon to protect the peaceful population from pogroms and to guard governmental institutions.

The radio continues to broadcast appeals by the Dushanbe military commandant and the republican government for rioters to disperse, display wisdom and prevent further bloodshed. Workers, party activists and Afghan war veterans of various nationalities have begun to form "self-defence detachments" to help maintain order.

### Tajik Plenum Considers Situation

*LD1402143790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1332 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Dushanbe, 14 February (Tadzhikta-TASS)—There was an extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee of the Tadzhik Communist Party here today. Kakhar Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee, delivered a report about the situation in the city of Dushanbe, which has become aggravated. There has been a state of emergency there since 12 February and a curfew is in force.

As is well known, there have been unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations there recently, during which there have been pogroms and arson attacks on administrative buildings, including the building housing the Central Committee of the Tadjik Communist Party. People have been killed and injured.

Those taking part in the plenum honored the memory of the dead with a minute's silence and expressed sincere condolences to their friends and families.

Those who spoke were severely critical of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Tadjik Communist Party, the government of the repubic, and its law and order bodies for their slowness to take measures to prevent disturbances in the capital of the republic.

After a principled discussion of the situation the plenum pledged the Bureau of the Central Committee and the Communist leadership to take urgent measures to restore public order in the city of Dushanbe and the republic as a whole. Party Committees and Communists have been instructed to take an active part in organizing workers' detachments and keeping order at enterprises and institutions, on the streets and squares, and in residential districts. It was proposed that there should be careful analysis of the issues raised by those taking part in meetings, and that they should be used in organizing work very rapidly to resolve pressing socio-economic and ecological problems, with special attention being paid to solving the problems of young people.

The plenum deemed it expedient to bring forward the date for the 21st Congress of the Tadjik Communist Party, and envisaged holding it in April-May this year.

The plenum was addressed by Boris Pugo, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee.

### Roundup of Dushanbe Situation

*LD1502104790 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Tensions are running high in Tajikistan's capital, Dushanbe. Troops are guarding government buildings and people of different nationalities are setting up self- defence units to protect themselves from pogroms in various parts of the city.

There is a bread shortage in Dushanbe, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper writes today. Hooligans stop vans that bring bread to shops and loot them, it said. The telephone network is not working properly—inter-city communications is unreliable and it is next to impossible to call other cities.

Many residents cannot get to work because of barricades, lack of public transport and militants' threats.

"Mobs of hoodlums" pillaged a republican hospital, Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says, quoting Tajik Health Minister Gulnora Pulatova. They ravaged the emergency treatment section, destroying costly foreign-made equipment, she said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reported today that immediately after the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on Wednesday, Tajik leaders began talks with the people's committee elected at a rally in front of the Central Committee headquarters. The committee is led by Buriy Karimov, head of the republican planning committee.

The people's committee demanded that the local leadership retire, the curfew be lifted and troops withdrawn. It also wants February 12, when several people were killed in street violence near the Central Committee headquarters, to be a day of mourning and has called for the administrative apparatus to be cut.

Several demands will be discussed at once, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports. These include measures to combat unemployment (there are now from 70,000 to 200,000 unemployed in the republic), youth problems (young people constitutute the bulk of protesters and pogrom participants in the republic), the problems of large families, a ban on the sale of pork (Moslems do not eat it), language issues and ways of writing ethnic names.

## AFP Carries Reports of Tajik Events 14-15 Feb

### Rioters 'Tried To Seize' Airport

*AU1402134690 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, Feb 14 (AFP)—Rioters in Dushanbe, the capital of the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, Wednesday tried to seize the local airport while looting continued in the city, a Moscow Radio news digest said here.

No details were given about the attack against the airport, but TASS news agency had earlier reported that soldiers from the Dushanbe garrison had been sent to protect the airport and major factories.

INTERFAX, the news digest, said riots continued round-the-clock despite the imposition of a state of emergency and night curfew and that the situation was out of control.

The attacks had been carefully planned by Moslem sects and members of informal organisations, a Communist Party Central Committee meeting was told.

### Paratroopers Arrive To Restore Order

*AU1402184590 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Moscow, Feb 14 (AFP)—Paratroopers arrived in the Tajikistan capital Dushanbe to try to restore order amid signs that ethnic violence was worsening in the Central Asian republic, TASS news agency said Wednesday night. [passage omitted]

Rioters earlier tried to seize the local airport while the situation in the city was said to be out of control, according to the Moscow Radio news digest INTERFAX. No details were given about the attack on the airport, but TASS news agency earlier said soldiers from the Dushanbe garrison had been sent to protect the airport and major factories.

INTERFAX said riots continued round-the-clock despite the imposition of a state of emergency and night curfew. The attacks had been carefully planned by Moslem sects and members of informal organisations, INTERFAX said quoting speakers addressing a local Communist Party Central Committee meeting. One of the latest demands made by demonstrators was for the opening of the border with neighbouring Afghanistan, INTERFAX added. Dozens of local girls had been raped or beaten up for failing to don headscarves or for wearing their hair short in this mainly Moslem republic, the news digest said. A railway station and a bus station had been ransacked, newspaper kiosks had been burned and hundreds of flats and shops looted, INTERFAX said. [passage omitted]

Initial rioting Monday was prompted by reports that Armenian refugees would be taking over newly-built flats in the capital, but violence soon took on a more nationalistic and anti-Russian in character. The gangs of youths in the streets were wearing traditional folk clothes, INTERFAX said.

Armoured vehicles were guarding official buildings, including the headquarters of the Communist Party's Central Committee. INTERFAX reported however that an army division had refused to move into town, as officers did not want to be blamed for any of the violence. No officer wanted to share the fate of General Igor Rodionov who was strongly criticized after his troops killed 20 people while breaking up a demonstration in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, last April, INTERFAX said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, "extremists" have announced that the funeral of people killed would be held Saturday and that there would be "a carnage of infidels," INTERFAX said.

### Calm After Three Leaders Resign

*AU1502115190 Paris AFP in English 1106 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Moscow, Feb 15 (AFP)—Three leading officials in Tajikistan pledged to resign Thursday in a bid to end further rioting that left 12 people dead and 143 wounded, and the republic's capital Dushanbe was calmer, according to a correspondent there.

The resignations were part of the demonstrators' demands, along with the withdrawal of troops and the lifting of a curfew, imposed after rioting broke out Monday. [passage omitted]

But Interior Ministry troops, backed up by paratroopers, were still deployed throughout the city and tanks still stationed at key government buildings, particularly outside the local party central committee headquarters, correspondents said.

Demonstrators told local journalists their demands "were on the verge of being met", though there were no official details on the outcome of negotiations Wednesday between authorities and a "provisional committee" repesenting the demonstrators. [passage omitted]

The Dushanbe military commander, Mamadaiez Navzhuvanov, who confirmed the latest death toll, said those killed Wednesday included a Leningrad cameraman, while the injured included 50 security forces. [passage omitted]

Moscow sent in Boris Pugo, an alternate politburo member and head of the party's control committee, as special envoy to Dushanbe Wednesday, as Tass reports said the ethnic violence in Tadzhikistan appeared to be worsening. [passage omitted]

### More on Resignation

*AU1502095090 Paris AFP in English 0907 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, Feb 15 (AFP)—The three leading officials in Tajikistan announced their resignation Thursday after a day of rioting in which 12 people were officially said to have been killed and 143 injured, a correspondent in Dushanbe, the Tajik capital said.

Communist Party First Secretary Karokh Makhkamov, the president of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet (parliament) Gaibnazar Pallayev and the republic's Prime Minister Izatullo Khayeyev went on television at 0100 to say they would quit.

Since Monday, a total of 37 people are officially reported to have been killed in the Tajik riots which were triggered by rumours that thousands of Armenian refugees were to be resettled in prime housing in the republic.

The resignations go some way towards satisfying the demands of demonstrators who were demanding the collective resignation of the republic's entire leadership. Other key demands included the withdrawal of troops and the lifting of a curfew imposed after rioting erupted on Monday. A 20-point list of demands was put forward Wednesday in negotiations between the authorities and a "provisional committee" representing the demonstrators, the communist youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA said in a report Thursday.

The resignations of Mr. Makhkamov, Mr. Pallayev and Mr. Khayeyev will not become effective until they are approved by the republic's party and parliament, the correspondent in Dushanbe said.

TASS news agency in a report Wednesday night said ethnic violence Tajikistan appeared to be worsening. Those injured during the day included 50 soldiers and militiamen, the agency said. TASS said some 5,000 "extremists" had attacked soldiers with Molotov cocktails and stones while Moscow Radio news digest INTERFAX said rioters had tried to seize the airport and the situation in Dushanbe was out of control.

INTERFAX said the violence had been planned by Moslem sects and members of informal organisations. It said girls had been raped or beaten up for failing to wear Moslem head veils and that "extremists" had promised the "carnage of infidels". Among the demonstrators' demands was the opening of the border with Afghanistan, INTERFAX said. The demonstrators had also called for a pork processing plant in the city to be closed for religious reasons, a television report said.

Tajikistan, a republic in Soviet Central Asia bordering China and Afghanistan, is 56 percent Moslem.

## Regional Affairs

### Situation in Baku Generally 'Peaceful'

*NC1502122890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of Baku City, dated 14 February—read by announcer]

[Text] The military commandant's administration of Baku City makes its known that the situation in the republic's capital was generally peaceful last night. No mass violations of public laws were recorded. (?Measures were taken) by the forces which protect the public laws to maintain the state of emergency and the curfew regime. In the course of the day, 38 individuals were detained, 12 for violating the decree on the state of emergency, eight for violating the passport regime, and 18 for violating the curfew.

[Words indistinct] a number of drivers violated the rules which apply to the checking and dispatching of vehicles. As a result, 14 vehicles were impounded. [passage indistinct]

It is made known once again that all drivers must fulfill the demands of the military guards.

Appeals have been made to the military commandant of the city about the curfew hours. It is brought to the attention of the citizens that the curfew hours were wrongly published in an article in IZVESTIYA entitled: Baku—12 February. We recall once again that the curfew is in effect from 0000 hours to 0500 in the morning, as in the past.
The Military Commandant's Administration of Baku City.

## 9 Feb Council of Ministers Meeting

*NC1402102490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
*0430 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers held a meeting on 9 February. Comrade Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, explained the concept behind the action plan of the republic's government. The concept calls for measures to extricate the republic from the present situation and to strengthen the work carried out in the agricultural field, as well as for the strengthening of material and humanitarian aid to the families of those who have been killed or wounded, including the sick and all those who have suffered.

Concrete measures have been drawn up to reinstate the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereign rights in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Shaumyanskiy Rayon. Instructions were given to all ministries and main administrations to extend multisided support to the Azerbaijan Organization Committee on the NKAO in its work to stabilize the situation in the autonomous oblast. The results of the census held in the NKAO will be clarified.

A program will be drawn up for the social and economic development of the residential areas of Azerbaijan SSR rayons bordering the Armenian SSR. Plans are being made to step up the settlement of matters related to the construction of houses, allocation of construction materials, and employment of refugees from the Armenian, Uzbek, and Kazakh SSR's and the NKAO.

In the economic field, preparations for the adoption of a system of full financial autonomy, self-financing, and self-management as of 1 January 1991 will be stepped up. Plans have been made for carrying out a number of experiments in connection with the granting of full independence to agricultural establishments.

A number of measures will be formulated connected with the practical realization of the Azerbaijan SSR laws which have been recently enacted.

Other matters of vital importance have also been included in the program of the republic's government.

The meeting also examined the results of the realization of the Azerbaijan SSR's social and economic development plan in 1989.

## Azeri Writers Union Protests State of Emergency

*NC1402103990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri*
*0430 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Secretariat of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Union of Writers held an expanded meeting to examine in detail the situation in the republic. The meeting approved the text of the letter addressed to the USSR Union of Writers by the Azerbaijan SSR Union of Writers. The letter analyzes the situation in the republic and assesses the state of emergency.

According to the writers, the declaration of a state of emergency in Baku violates the laws of Azerbaijan SSR, which is a sovereign republic, and the laws of the country as a whole.

The participants in the meeting also approved the text of the letter criticizing the slanderous article Igor Bilyayev published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It is common knowledge that Igor Bilyayev regards himself as a qualified expert on eastern developments and the Islamic religion. As is the case with a number of slanderers, he does not make an objective assessment of the incidents which have taken place and continues to level calumnies against our people in the press.

These and other views that were expressed are published in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY and VYSHKA today.

## Armenian Supreme Soviet on 'Genocide' in Baku

*LD1502070190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian*
*0600 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Our correspondent has just reported from Yerevan. Yesterday, late in the evening, the 11th session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet ended there. It introduced a number of changes into the Constitution of the republic and adopted a law on elections. The deputies analyzed the situation that has evolved in the region and, in a special decision, gave a political assessment of the events in Baku and other regions of Azerbaijan. The events are characterized as genocide toward the Armenian population. Although belatedly the document calls the introduction of a state of emergency in Baku an extremely necessary measure.

The session heard a report of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium on its work over the past two years.

Deputies subjected the Presidium to justified criticism for errors and omissions and for slowness and inconsistency of decisions and actions. Representatives of the Armenian Pannational Movement have been introduced into the Presidium composition. The session sent a telegram to the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the people's deputies of Armenia demanding resolute measures be taken to stop the forced deportation of the Armenian population of the Khanlarskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan.

### Azeri Party Officials Meet Ethnic Representatives

*NC1502171190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The meeting held on (?13 February) at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee with the representatives of the republic's Azerbaijani and Russian speakers examined both how to emerge from the present situation and how to restore normal life and work in the republic. Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting. In the light of the present situation in the republic, he (?explained) what the party organizations and work collectives should focus their attention upon. [passage omitted]

The meeting participants expressed confidence that the Azerbaijan party organization and the republic's government, through the wide-ranging support of the people, will eliminate the crisis, enable establishments to resume work, move to resolve the current problems in reconstruction, and strengthen Azerbaijan's political and economic sovereignty.

The meeting participants also adopted an appeal to the people of many nationalities in Azerbaijan.

El'mira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Romanov, who is a section chief affiliated with the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadre Affairs Department, participated in the meeting.

### Developments in Transcaucasia Updated

*LD1402222390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] It is clear from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] report on the situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics [SSR] on 14 February that the situation in Azerbaijan remains tense. A total of 149 freight trains are standing idle on the railway there, 48 of which are destined for Armenia. During the past 24 hours, seven shotguns were confiscated from the population in Bardinskiy Rayon.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has not changed particularly. On 12 February near an asphalt works in Stepanakert, two explosive devices were thrown by unknown people at a bus carrying passengers. There are no victims. An inquiry is under way.

In Askeranskiy Rayon, a sabotage of the railway line was discovered. About three kg of explosives and a homemade explosive device with a timer were found at the scene of action.

In 24 hours, a total of one pistol and eight cartridges, a rifle, 11 pneumatic rifles, four shotguns, and two homemade grenades were returned to the Armenian Internal Affairs bodies. In Yerevan, the building in which the Armenian Supreme Soviet session finished its work was blockaded by a crowd. Those gathered demanded the resignation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

### Azeri Popular Front Demonstrates in Moscow

*LD1502053290 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Azerbaijani Popular Front representatives have demonstrated outside the Moskva Hotel in the center of town, where members of parliament stay during parliamentary sessions. As our parliamentary correspondent Maksim Tkachenko reports, the demonstrators demanded repeal of the state of emergency in Baku and withdrawal of troops from there. The Azerbaijani Popular Front representatives carried posters with enlarged photographs of those who were killed or wounded during the clashes between the army and civilians in Baku at the end of last month. They demanded that members of parliament give a political assessment to those events in parliament.

In their view the media have been distorting the real state of affairs in that Caucasian republic and have been grossly understating civilian casualties, as (Chigiz Mamedov), an Azerbaijani journalist and Popular Front member explained. There has been biased reporting by all national media, he says, while the occupation of Baku has been continuing. By the figures specified by an investigatory commission 160 people were killed and more than 200 reported missing. That was a real aggression, with the use of big calibre submachine guns, tear gas, tanks and other armoured vehicles. Even reservists in southern Russia were mobilized for their airlift to Azerbaijan. (Chigiz Mamedov) also claimed that the Popular Front was not to blame for the pogroms on ethnic grounds that started in Baku on the 13th and continued through the 19th of last month, where troops entered the city and the state of emergency was declared there.

Facts, however, show that it was the Popular Front's extremist wing which organized and armed groups of militants that carried out anti-Armenian and then anti-Russian pogroms. This was described by eyewitnesses, participants in yet another demonstration outside the Moskva Hotel. These were Armenian and Russian refugees from Baku, estimated at several thousand. The refugees demonstrated, demanding that the government and legislators guarantee their normal living and working conditions.

Pensioner (Vitaliy Kavyazin), a Russian who lived in Baku nearly all his life, had never expected to become a victim of nationalist pogroms. At the moment, he said, we have no special problems. We have been well received here. We've been given shelter, have been fed, have been provided with allowances, free board and lodging facilities. But we are worried what tomorrow will bring. We have no housing, work; our homes have been looted and property lost in Baku. So far, we have heard only general promises that we will accommodated somewhere, but it hasn't gone any further than talk so far.

Indicatively, there was no scuffle or excesses between the Popular Front demonstrators and refugees although their views and positions differ. Both are right in demanding that the country's leadership finally take over power, control order, and guarantee the security of citizens. In other words, it must do what it has failed to do over the last few months.

## Rumors of Azeri Influx Sparks Frunze Protest

*PM1402142790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 p 1*

[Our correspondent K. Bayalinov dispatch: "Echoes of Baku"]

[Text] Frunze—On 10 February it was impossible to walk or drive through Central Square in the republic's capital—from the morning onward it was tightly cordoned off by militia. Another unsanctioned rally had been held. But this is not surprising. After all, even according to official data (clearly underestimated), 100,000 people in Kirghizia are out of work.

Where can the young unemployed people go? Naturally, they go to the city in search of money for food. As a result, tens of thousands of people have been forced to resettle in basements, shanties, and overcrowded hostels. Someone started a rumor about several thousand refugees from Azerbaijan and other regions in the country coming to settle permanently in Kirghizia. And they are all right, it was said, they will be given apartments. People believed the rumors and passions flared even more. Nationalist appeals started being heard.

It goes without saying that a lot of problems have built up. These past few days I have heard a large number of appeals—both sensible and provocative, both constructive appeals and appeals aimed at kindling interethnic strife.

Rally democracy is undoubtedly not the best way of solving urgent problems that are worrying the population. But is it better to pretend that nothing in particular has happened, accuse the demonstrators of extremism, frighten them, carry out repressions, and tightly cordon off the center of the capital?

## MVD Updates Armenia Azerbaijan Situation

*LD1502150690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 15 Feb 90*

["According to information of the USSR Ministry of Internal Afffairs"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Feb (TASS)—In Azerbaijan over the past 24 hours, over 47 percent of industrial enterprises have been at a standstill due to the continuing strikes. The total material loss from enterprises being idle since 18 January is 501.8 million rubles.

Toward the end of yesterday, 142 freight trains remained idle on the Azerbaijan railway, 41 of which are intended for Armenia. As the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] reported today, in spite of the fact that the situation in the republic remains tense, it is being kept under control by the forces of law and order.

Over the past 24 hours, according to USSR MVD information, 25 people have been detained in Baku for violating the curfew.

The confiscation of weapons from the population is continuing in the republic.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] also remains tense. Within the autonomous oblast all transport is accompanied, as before, by military details. Yesterday, 13 people were detained in the oblast for violating the curfew.

The exchange of hostages is continuing.

According to USSR MVD information, the situation in Armenia remains unchanged. Weapons continue to be handed in to the internal affairs bodies.

## Situation in Azerbaijan 'Quite Calm'

*LD1402162690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Baku, 14 Feb—TASS special correspondents Sergey Petrov and Yuriy Soltys report:

At the present time the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan looks quite calm, although it is as yet too early to speak of a definitive normalization of the situation. Strikes continue at many industrial enterprises. According to figures from the State Committee on Statistics of the republic, more than 30 percent of the enterprises in Baku are not working. The material losses caused by the idling are increasing: over the republic as a whole they amount to nearly 480 million rubles in the period since 18 January.

Unfortunately attacks on military patrols are not ceasing. We were informed in the press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the republic that Sergeant Kozlov, head of a patrol, was wounded as a result of an attack by hooligan elements in Baku. A search is under way for the criminals. Last night 18 persons were detained for violating the curfew.

The situation remains tense in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. More than 80 percent of the enterprises are standing idle. Because of a lack of fuel, transport is paralyzed and stockbreeding is suffering badly, not having received the necessary quantity of mixed fodder.

It is now calm in the town of Gyandzha. More than two-thirds of the industrial enterprises are working at their normal pace, although a shortage of raw and other materials has led to a decline in the volume of production. At the same time, some of the works and factories are striking.

The strike on the railway has complicated the transport of food goods to Sumgait. Trucks have arrived from Akstafa and the Kubatlinskiy Rayon, bringing food to the town for poor families and those with many children. A number of enterprises are still not working. The past few days have been calm in Mingechaur, and vital enterprises have been functioning. At the same time, strikes are continuing at large enterprises.

According to a report from the rayon center Yevlakh, traffic has been restored on the Mir-Bashir-Kalbadzhar road, which runs in part through the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

## TASS Updates Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh

*LD1402215790 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Stepanakert February 14 TASS—The elders of two villages in the Askera district of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region [NKAO] have signed an agreement on guarantees of mutual security and inter-ethnic reconciliation.

Patriarchs also met in the Matruni and Gadrut districts of the autonomous region.

The region's military commandant and leaders of party, soviet and economic bodies meet refugees to discuss their return home.

Twenty-one groups have been set up to explain things to the population.

The situation in the region is controlled by the Army, Interior Ministry troops and the militia, but it is too early to say that the situation has been fully normalized. Strike continues in Stepanakert and some district centers of the region, cases of hostage taking have been reported, passing cars were stoned.

On February 13 rails were dismantled at a spot on the Agdam- Stepanakert railway road.

"We have to say it once again that some forces do not want the situation to return to normal. They do all they can to destabilize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh," Major-General V. Safonov, the military commandant of the district under the state of emergency, told TASS.

## Article Describes Army Actions in NKAO

*NC1102110690 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 10 Feb 90*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] GRAKAN TERT weekly has published the impressions of journalist Bakul Karapetyan on the (?actions of the military) in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in January. The article describes the storming of the oblast party committee headquarters by the military. After surrounding the building at 0930, a 60-man unit armed with automatic weapons swiftly moved in. Once inside it forced all employees to raise their arms and face the wall at gunpoint. The soldiers kicked open closed doors, smashed locks, broke chairs, overturned tables, and searched every corner.

That afternoon I met some correspondents of the central press, Bakul Karapetyan writes, and they expressed the view that the higher echelons of the army believe that the Armenians had dragged the army into a confrontation with the Azerbaijanis and were very unhappy on that score. The army generals hoped that the attack on the employees of the oblast party committee and the Special Administration Committee would prompt the party apparatus to go on strike and the people to take to the streets in protest. As demonstrations are prohibited under the state of emergency, the army would then have the chance to resort to countermeasures.

Central television correspondent Aleksandr Bagatov has been sending his reports from the site of developments to central television for the last few days, but none of these reports has been aired. Perhaps they will be aired only after the correspondent returns to Moscow and the footage is doctored in a way that will confuse the viewer as to where it was taken, who is firing at whom, and who is the victim. In the meantime, chief news editor Sagdeyev can continue to speak about democracy and openness.

## Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Lacks Quorum

*NC1502140190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Friends, as you know from our broadcsats, the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet was scheduled to meet at 1000 today in the Stepan Shaumyan hall. However, Presiding Chairman Deputy Voskanyan declared that the session could not officially continue its deliberation because 119 deputies was not enough for a quorum. For 10 hours the deputies at the hall telephoned their elected representatives of the people to the session. One wonders on what moral right and moved by what principles these deputies approach their duties in such a manner at these grave days for our people? This unprecedented phenomenon was finally resolved at 2000. After the formation of the necessary quorum the session finally resumed its deliberations.

The Supreme Soviet unanimously endorsed the (?the list) of (?23 men) on the central election committee. Deputy Robert Amiryan was unanimously elected as chairman of the committee, Khachatur (?Bzikchyan) and Chemma Asratyan were elected deputy chairmen, and Ruben Sandoyan was elected secretary of the committee.

Next, the session began debating Deputy Grant Voskanyan's report on the activity of the Supreme Soviet Presidium during the last two years.

The following deputies took part in the exchange of views: Khachik Stamboltsyan, Martin Khachaturyan, Ashot Manucharyan, Sarkis Muradyan, and others.

The session is still going on.

## Statistics on Development in 1989 Detailed

*NC1402103390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] How well did we work in 1989? The reply to this question is given in information released by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Statistics Committee. The information, which is published today's newspapers, notes the following :

Measures were put into effect in 1989 to restructure the economy, change its social direction, and strengthen its moral situation. Success was achieved in increasing the production of consumer goods. Measures were taken to make capital investments and [word indistinct] in the social field. The allocations from the national income for the consumption and non-consumption domains were more than 87 percent in 1989, compared with 83 percent in 1988.

The centralized measures planned to improve the welfare of the people were implemented for the most part. Pensions were increased.

Compared with 1988, the general volume of national production in the economic domains fell by 0.4 percent because of (?work stoppages). Meanwhile national income from production fell by 2.5 percent and social work output fell by 1.9 percent. The volume of national income from production totalled 11.2 billion rubles. The prices of material goods increased. This lowered the real per capita income by 0.3 percent, despite the plans made in 1988 to increase per capita income by 3 percent.

The population of the republic was 7,145,600 people early in June 1989. The birth and death rates among the people fell. The biweekly wages of workers and employees increased from 171 to 178 rubles. The wages of [word indistinct] remained at 1988's level of 170 rubles.

## Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Ends 14 Feb

*LD1402215590 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Vilnius February 14 TASS—The session of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic decided to set up a state commission to draw up proposals on the status of the Soviet armed forces deployed in the republic, as well as on military and alternative (labour) service of Lithuanian citizens.

The Republican Supreme Soviet instructed the local bodies of authority in towns and districts, ministries, departments, enterprises and organisations to take steps, in coordination with religious centres and communities, to return to them confiscated prayer houses and other buildings that formerly belonged to the church and other religious organisations.

The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet also considered the responsibility for crimes against the Lithuanian people committed between 1940 and 1953, but the decision on the bill is expected to be made by the newly-elected legislature after its publication and further discussion.

With this the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic concluded its work.

## Vilnius Radio Carries Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Discuss Agrarian Problems

*LD1402211490*

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 14 February begins carrying a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session in Vilnius.

At 0800 GMT, Chairman L. Sepetys opens the session, asking Deputy Bernotas to take the floor. He deals with agrarian problems, including assistance to collective and state farms.

At 0805 GMT Deputy Vileikis also stresses the necessity to help agriculture to increase production.

At 0809 GMT an unidentified deputy complians that agriculture is being supplied with insufficient quantities of building and other materials.

At 0816 GMT Deputy Budrikis proposes that discussions be discontinued, other deputies protest, and several continue describing various means of helping agriculture.

At 0839 GMT debates on this item on the agenda end. A decision on assistance to agriculture is adopted, and will be submitted to the Council of Ministers for implementation.

At 0843 GMT Deputy Ozolas takes the floor to deliver a report on the protection of archives. Each deputy has been supplied with a draft decision on this problem.

Each deputy has been supplied with a draft decision on this problem. Deputy Ozolas does not speak. Some deputies propose changes in individual items in this decision.

At 0854 GMT a vote is taken on individual sections of this decision. Details of the contents of this decision are indistinct due to poor reception.

At 0912 GMT deputies were asked to register once again because an important vote is being taken—233 deputies are present. The decision is adopted by a majority of votes.

At 0914 GMT Chairman Sepetys states that a decision on the service of Lithuanian young people in the armed forces will be considered next. This draft decision has been distributed among the deputies.

At 0926 GMT Chairman Sepetys asks: "Who else would like to speak? Deputy Kakaras."

At 0927 GMT Kakaras responds: "I have important information. There was a phone call from Yerevan a minute ago which was made by Eidukaitis, a member of the Supreme Soviet Commission who announced that since yesterday morning the building of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has been blockaded by the People's Front; they have a categorical demand: to declare war on Azerbaijan."

At 0929 GMT chairman Sepetys asks the deputies to return to the debate on the draft decision on service in the Armed Forces. The decision is adopted by a majority of votes.

At 0940 GMT there is an interval of 20 minutes.

At 1000 GMT Chairman Sepetys states that some paragraphs in the Criminal Code concerning service in the armed forces have to be changed. After a brief report on the changes to be introduced, Deputy Nekraosius objects to any changes now, stating that in the future everything concerning Armed Forces will eventually change, and new laws will be in force.

At 1013 GMT a deputy whose name is indistinct asks that the Procuracy watch the progress of cases where young Lithuanian servicemen are accused of desertion after they have been physically abused in the Army.

### Discuss Church, State Relations

*LD1402211590*

[Editorial Report] At 1017 GMT Chairman Sepetys calls for a vote. There are many voices in the hall, the proceedings seem to be disorderly, and the purpose of the vote is not clear. A decision is adopted by 238 votes.

At 1023 GMT debate opens on the activity of the former minister Riauba. The chairman of the commission set up to examine the minister's work reports on its findings. He states that the minister has been allowing the sale of furniture in short supply, in violation of the existing procedure. The minister also violated regulations on the distribution of cars. One car was allocated to the minister himself. There have been also irregularities in carrying out renovations and repairs to the minister's flat.

At 1041 GMT reception deteriorates. Deputies propose amendments to a draft decision concerning the distribution of goods. Details of the proposals are indistinct due to poor reception.

At 1052 GMT Deputy Masaitis states that he examined all the documents concerning the allocation of a flat to minister Riauba. In his opinion there have been no irregularities.

At 1054 GMT Chairman Sepetys proposes that a vote be taken on individual passages in the decision. At 1058 GMT A vote is taken on the regulations concerning direct exchange of goods with foreign countries, on the illegal aquisition of a flat by the ex-minister of trade Comrade Riaube, and other matters. A vote is taken on the conclusions drawn by a commission at the Supreme Soviet for the investigation of activities by L. Riauba, ex-trade minister.

At 1103 GMT discussion begins on the return of the confiscated church property and houses of prayer. Delegate Valancius, head of Religious Affairs Department, reports on the issue.

Valacius says that the obstacle on the path of improving relations between state and church is the decree adopted by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet in 1948 concerning the confiscation of church property. On the strength of this decree more than 1000 church buildings were confiscated. Deputy Valancius says that since this decree is still in force the return of the church property cannot be solved positively.

Valacius says that another problem is that although currently religious organizations are recognized as juridical objects and, therefore, have the right to own property, not all the confiscated properties could be returned to the ownership of the church because various state, culture, and social offices are housed in these buildings.

Deputy Valancius says in conclusion that in order to normalize the relations between church and state, all property confiscated from the church must be returned. Valancius says that returning all the buildings which belong to the church would be the best present to believers on the occasion of the national holiday on 16 February and for the Eastern holidays.

At 1121 GMT debates open. Dainius Trinkunas, minister of culture, voices his concern, saying that many libraries, museums, and so forth, were literally thrown out into the street when church property was returned. Trinkunas says that usually no money or adquate housing is offered for all these offices. Therefore, culture of Lithuania is suffering.

At 1127 GMT reception deteriorates further.

## Stalinist Crimes Condemned

*LD1402211690*

[Editorial Report] At 1300 GMT Chairman Sepetys reopens the session, calling for a vote on the draft law on the houses of prayer and the return of their property. The draft law is adopted by 216 votes with one abstention.

At 1307 GMT Deputy Smailys takes the floor. He describes the history of the construction of this church. After the war various decisions were made on the use of this bulding, and in 1956 a radio factory was established. In his opinion, this church should now be returned to the believers by the Supreme Soviet. There are no obstacles to doing this.

At 1313 GMT Deputy Stimaitis states that the working people in Kaunas favor the return of the church to the believers. The transfer of the enterprise which now occupies the church building would cost R11.5 million. This sum should be obtained from the Union budget.

At 1319 GMT a draft decision that the church should be returned to the believers by the end of 1993 is put to vote. The decision is adopted by the majority of 225 votes.

At 1324 GMT the debate on the draft law on the crimes against the Lithuanian people opens. Deputy Stepas Umbrasas said that although Stalinist crimes have been condemned, so far no corresponding law has been adopted. It should be acknowledged that in the times of Stalinism, mass murder took place, and this should be condemned officially. The draft law provides for the punishment of those guilty of genocide. Mass deportations should be qualified as genocide, too.

At 1334 GMT questions are raised on individual aspects of this draft law. According to many deputies, this draft law would cover all crimes against humanity committed both during the times of fascism and of Stalinism.

At 1400 GMT Chairman Sepetys proposes that this draft law should be adopted in its first reading and published in the press with proposals made at the present session. This draft law provides for the responsibility for crimes in the destruction of the Lithuanian people. The chairman's proposal is adopted by 225 votes. Thus the draft law is returned to the commission, which will introduce proposals and publish it in the press.

At 1404 GMT Deputy Marijonas Visakavicius expresses his concern about difficulties experienced by some people in finding jobs and about the approaching unemployment. People who lose their jobs because of their express criticism or for other unjustified reasons must be protected. The situation of disabled persons must be taken into account. He proposes that a commisison should be set up to draw up a law on defending the interests of people who lose their jobs.

At 1415 GMT Chairman Sepetys put this proposal to vote. The Council of Ministers was instructed to set up such a commisison. The deputies also decided that the nomination of candidates for local elections should be extended to March and their registration to 4 March.

At 1424 GMT the deputies vote on the 23d item on the agenda, which is not described as all deputies have a draft decision in front of them.

At 1425 GMT an interval of 20 minutes is announced.

## Nuclear Power Station Discussed

*LD1402211790*

[Editorial Report] At 1445 GMT, it is announced that the next item on the agenda is the Snieckus settlement. The chairman of the commission in this matter, Gennadiy Konoplev, takes the floor. He says that there are many political and national problems involved in that settlement. First of all, there is the problem of the reliability of the nuclear power station in the settlement. He does not go into the details of the draft decision, since all deputies have copies distributed among them.

At 1450 GMT, since there are no discussions on the draft decision, the chairman puts it to the vote. It is mentioned before the voting that the fate of the nuclear power station should be decided by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in cooperation with foreign scientists. The decision on immediate solutions of the problems concerning the Snieckus settlement inhabitants is adopted by 218 votes.

At 1456 GMT, the republican procurator takes the floor to speak about a draft decision on instructing the corresponding organs to prepare concepts of the legal system in the republic and the struggle against crime. The draft decision is adopted by 209 votes.

At 1503 GMT it is announced that the last item on the agenda is questions and comments. Deputy Valerijonas Kubilius delivers a report stating the number of questions. He says they all have been handed over to the corresponding institutions. Among problems and questions mentioned during discussions on this item on the agenda are: A criminal case has been started about the murder of 73 prisoners in June 1941 in the Rainiai forest. However, there are many difficulties in obtaining evidence against the culprits. Another issue discussed is that of the future of Lithuania's Russian newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA. Since there are two communist parties in the republic at present, this newspaper can no longer be the organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The deputies decide to instruct the presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to examine this problem and solve it in cooperation with corresponding institutions.

At the end of the examination of the last item on the agenda, Lithuanian Military Commissar General Visockas, announces that he has recieved information from Yerevan that a report about a call to declare war to Azerbaijan is not true. There was a picket but no such demand was expressed, he says.

At 1620 GMT, at the end of the session, Algirdas Brazauskas takes the floor.

At 1645 GMT, the session chairman read an appeal to Lithuania's inhabitants. He also expressed his personal thanks to the deputies.

At 1650 GMT the session ends with the singing of the Lithuanian state anthem.

### Speech by Brazauskas

*LD1502115490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1620 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Speech by Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The law on economic self-dependence is being implemented slowly because of objective and subjective reasons. Therefore there may be undesirable consequences. A meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers was held recently. As many people have heard, and read in the press, the Union government does not wish to speedily satisfy our requirements. We must even more resolutely speak at the center so that corresponding decisions establishing our economic self-dependence in all spheres are made. We will also have to look for new solutions in the sphere of internatonal economic cooperation. [passage omitted]

It is very important for us to tell people the truth, it is important not to disappoint them. We must advance toward our aim by very well considered means, very consistently, practically considering our actions, envisaging strategy and tactics. All the residents of Lithuania must know this. [passage omitted]

A commission appointed by us to draw up the plan of Lithuania's independence is working. Its purpose is not ordinary, because the problems are very complex. It includes theoretical and practical questions, also politics and economics, domestic life and foreign ties, relations with the West and the East, with close and distant neighbors. [passage indistinct]

Lithuania's people pin great hopes on the new parliament, but they also look at it with anxiety. If the parliament will not avoid [word indistinct], contradictions, political struggle, the interests of individual strata, it will hardly be able to realize those complicated political, economic, and social aims we all wish to achieve. [passage omitted]

I wish to express my hope that the new parliament will support the humanist ideas of unity. The present time requires this. We have always stressed Lithuania's old traditions of statehood. This is true. Our nation was not lost on the crossroads of history, although it had to pay a high price. Fate has decided that our generation has to take responsibility for Lithuania, its future, the fate of its people. Understanding this we must consider our every step and its purpose. But let us also remember that the establishment of the state and its formation is not the affair of some single party or idea. The establishment of the state is the nation's greatest collective task and responsibility. [passage omitted]

### 19 Feb Lithuanian Plenum To Discuss Party Role

*LD1402233690 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] A sitting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held today.

It decided to convene a Central Committee Plenum on 19 February, to discuss the place and role of the Communist Party in present-day Lithuania.

### Latvian Reporter on Democratic Platform

*LD1402185690 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Feb 90*

[Interview with Latvian newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH corresponent Alla Abaleyevich by Alla Arkadiyeva]

[Excerpts] [Arkadiyeva] one of the main events of the past week was the Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Communists of the whole country had been waiting for the plenum. The demarcation within the party's ranks which has become evident has led to the formation of new movements and currents within the CPSU. One of them is the Democratic Platform. We have already talked about this in our past program, and I promised you a meeting with Alla Abaleyevich, a journalist from the Latvian newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH. She attended the constituent conference of this movement in Moscow and now here is Alla at our microphone:

[Abalayevich] You know, it seemed to me that it is a serious movement. Incidentally, it is a movement—they are categorically against being called an organization. It is a movement for a democratic platform within the framework of the CPSU. Their program is to make themselves widely known, to try to attract as many supporters to their sides as possible, to become a majority at the congress and, so to speak, to take power in their hands, having overcome the Stalinists, the conservatives within the CPSU. And if they realize that this will not happen and the elections for the 28th CPSU Congress will proceed in such a way that their candidates will not get through, then in that case they will set up a new left-wing socialist party.

[Arkadiyeva] The name exists already, doesn't it?

[Abalayevich] Without question. Of course. Without question. So far they are for calling themselves communists. First of all, it seems to me, their number one task—as I understood—is the introduction in the USSR of a real multiparty system and the abrogation of Article

6 on the ruling role of the party in the constitution. In what way do they intend to muster people to their side? Well, first, this movement has already existed for a long time and is called the movement of party clubs, under the slogan of "Communists for Perestroyka". They are simply waiting for letters to them from all, so to speak, party organizations saying that, for instance, we are such and such a party organization, or, say, one communist Ivanov—ok? We support your platform and consider ourselves members of your movement and a form about this should be sent to the address: Code: 113209 Moscow, Sevastopolskiy Prospekt 28, Korpus 4, Komnata 101. There are the following telephone numbers: 2374419, 3608415 and 2335475 and all radio listeners who are interested in this can take this and call there or write and they will of course be answered. I think even that they are looking forward very much to it. [passage omitted]

Incidentally, I have data on who participated in this conference, if it is interesting, in percentages and figures. Just a minute. I think that about two rayon committee secretaries and only two town committee secretaries from our immense Motherland responded to the invitation from this movement. The remaining are simply, so to speak, average communists. No, well, there were various party organizers, some fired, some not, but of actual party functionaries there were in all about four people.

In other words, it seems to me that the party apparatus is afraid of this movement and is afraid to, well, simply to lose its power.

[Arkadiyeva] Tell me, can you name the supporters of this Democratic Platform movement. Who in fact has joined it?

[Abaleyevich] Well-known people? Well, as far as I know it was attended and welcomed by people's deputy Afanasyev, Yuriy Nikolayevich, the well-known Travkin, Gdlyan and Ivanov. Gavriil Popov spoke there. In any case they took an active part in this conference.

[Arkadiyeva] Tell me, well, you have probably, somehow, possibly already been following in the press how, shall we say, official bodies have reacted to the birth of the new movement, or perhaps you have talked with people and have gathered something, some information?

[Abalayevich] I may be mistaken, but I think that IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA kept quiet. Indeed, their correspondents were not there. And it was remarked at the news conference that everyone was invited, but representatives from these publications did not come. There were representatives from SOVETSKAYA KULTURA' and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, but they are weeklies. Maybe they have simply not had time, maybe they are preparing something analytical.

[Arkadiyeva] How did it seem to you—among those who were gathered there, well, let's put it this way—well, wasn't there some kind of fear on account of the fact that all this one day might end and then you know what?

[Abalayevich] I somehow don't want to believe this. It seemed to me that they are looking forward with optimism, somehow beyond their strengths. [passage omitted]

### Latvian People's Front, Baltic Journalists Debate

*PM1402170590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 90 First Edition p 3*

[Major V. Zadubrovskiy report: "Television Debate"]

[Text] Riga—A meeting between journalists of ZA RODINU, the newspaper of the Baltic Military District, and of ATMODA ("Awakening"), the press organ of the People's Front, was shown in an evening program on Latvian television 9 February. The political debate proceeded in a vein which most exactly reflects the newspapers' slogans. The slogan of the Latvian People's Front publication is formulated as follows: "For an independent and democratic Latvia."

"ZA RODINU's position," Colonel A. Kirillov, its senior editor, said at the beginning of the debate, "is also expressed in the slogan 'For our Soviet motherland!' Unified, socialist, being renewed, and traveling the path of democratization."

The debate elucidated the sides' positions on not only these but also other questions. A. Grigoryev, editor of the Russian edition of ATMODA, replied provocatively to a question about possible cooperation with the military:

"I believe that sooner or later, when Latvia is independent and begins creating its own army, Russian officers wishing to remain in the republic will participate in its creation...."

To conclude the debate Col A. Kirillov spoke in detail about the perestroyka processes in the Army.

### Proposals on Army Service Alternatives Published

*PM1402161390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own correspondent Irina Litvinova dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Draft Law on Alternative Service"]

[Text] Riga—The demand for alternative service for Latvian teenagers was first heard at the height of rallies during last fall's draft. The republic's Supreme Soviet deputies backed it, possibly in the belief that such a law would cool anti-army feeling. The fall draft produced plenty of other conflicts. According to data from the republic's Military Commissariat, 47 people refused to serve for political reasons.

Finally, the commission set up by the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has submitted for nationwide discussion the draft law "On Alternative (Labor) Service" which it has prepared. Since this is something new in our legislation, it makes sense to describe the jurists' proposals in greater detail. The draft law defines the basic economic, social, and legal provisions for alternative (labor) service in the Latvian SSR.

Who can exercise the right to perform alternative service? At present this category includes citizens of the republic "who, because of pacifist or religious beliefs, cannot serve in the forces." The draft law also contains a list of those who cannot be assigned to alternative service. They include people who are unsuitable for prolonged military service for health reasons, as well as those whose draft is deferred, full-time VUZ [higher education establishment] students, students in religious education establishments, and clerics. The draft law applies to those who have reached the age of 18 years, and citizens who have reached the age of 27 can no longer be called up for alternative service. The term of service is 38 months, and 18 months for VUZ graduates. The draft law provides that service takes the form of unskilled auxiliary labor in the sphere of municipal services, health care, and social security at the places of citizens' permanent residence. Should there be no opportunity to provide work in the aforementioned sectors, the republic Council of Ministers may determine a different sphere of activity. It can also assign people performing alternative service to eliminating the consequences of disasters or natural calamities.

The adoption of the USSR Law "On the Defense of the USSR," including its Article 38 on service outside the forces, is impatiently awaited in the republic. If the union law is not adopted before the spring draft but the republican law on alternative service is adopted, military commissariats will find themselves in a very complex position.

## Estonian Political 'Confrontation' Viewed

*90UN0890A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Feb 90 p 4*

[Article by staff correspondent C. Tarakanev: "Estonia: The Confrontation Grows"]

[Text] On 2 February there was extensive celebration in Tallinn of the 70th anniversary of the Peace of Tartu between Estonia and Soviet Russia, which became the legal basis for the existence of the independent Estonian state from 1920 through the summer of 1940. This event went far beyond the framework of an ordinary historical anniversary, insofar as the 70-year old peace treaty finds itself today at the foundation of real politics.

On the eve of this date, all political forces of any influence announced somewhat frankly their strategic goals and means of attaining them. The majority of them support the aspirations of the Estonian people to sovereignty, but in different ways, often seeing opposite paths to independence. Since almost everyone ascribes a special role in the consolidation of Estonian sovereignty to the planned 2 February overall republic assembly of deputies of soviets at all levels, certain political organizations have prepared their own draft documents for this day, or have published their preelection platforms in the press. Thus, the election conference of the People's Front adopted a declaration calling for negotiations between Estonia and the USSR. It states that negotiations are necessary in order to establish the legal status of Estonia and restore it as a subject of international law. Their main thrust must be acknowledgment of annexation on the part of the USSR, development of an internationally recognized resolution for restoration of the independent state of Estonia, gradual demilitarization, the provision of stable economic ties during a transition period, the acknowledgment of migration as an instrument of colonial politics and elimination of its consequences, and the guarantee of international supervision of fulfillment of the decisions made at the negotiations.

The People's Front also introduced a proposal to begin negotiations at the coming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its documents state there is sufficient basis for this. Last year a register of Estonia and the USSR was begun which contains analyses, calculations, appraisals, and justifications of political and economic relations between these states from 1920 through the present day.

The preelection platform of the union of labor collectives, which primarily unites working-class Estonians, states the necessity of determining the state legal status of Estonia, finding support in the right of succession of the Estonian Republic and the terms of the Peace of Tartu, and to immediately begin negotiations on the means and stages of restoring an independent state which would be founded on private ownership and free enterprise. This document also contains the demand that troops be removed.

As opposed to the People's Front and Union of Labor Collectives which charge the USSR people's deputies from Estonia and the Estonian Supreme Soviet with conducting negotiations, conservatives and the Party of National Independence have deemed it necessary, in their own declaration on the occasion of the deputy assembly, to remind that the current Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and the people's deputies of the country and local self-rule, are not authorized to deal with the matter of statehood for Estonia, insofar as their elections involved the participation of a half million "illegal migrants and the personnel of an army of occupation located here." Only citizens of the Estonian Republic (people living in this territory prior to 17 June 1940 and their descendants) or the Estonian Congress elected by them are competent to resolve this issue.

The position of the United Council of Labor Collectives, which includes enterprises with an overwhelming majority of Russian-speaking workers, is diametrically opposite. Its preelection platform declares that Estonia is and remains an integral part of the federated USSR, having equal rights with the other republics, that the right to alter its existing status belongs only to the people, by which is understood the aggregate of the entire population of the republic, and only by means of referendum.

On the subject of state independence, the Political Declaration of the 16th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party states that its acquisition is a complex and contradictory process. To achieve this aim it is necessary to create not just the legal bases, but a reliable political, economic, and social base as well.

This arrangement of social forces was clearly and vividly manifest in the measures dedicated to the anniversary of the Peace of Tartu. The ideas included in the documents I have named resounded in various forms as delivered by speakers at Long Herman Tower in Palace Square, where a celebration was carried out in honor of the Estonian national flag, and in the Tallinn City Hall at the republic assembly of deputies. True, there were significant additions as well. People's Front representative M. Khint, for example, proposed that a nonstate fund be established to provide assistance to veterans of the War of Liberation and families of those who perished in battles with the Red Army. Orators from the councils of commissioners (formerly executive committees of soviets of people's deputies) of Saaremaa, Ida-Virumaa, and Yarvamaa argued for the immediate removal of Soviet "occupation" forces, the recall of "Estonian lads mobilized into the Armed Forces," and refusal to serve.

Adherents of the Estonian Congress demanded that elections to the Estonian Supreme Soviet be rescinded, since they will take place with the participation of "illegal migrants" and "occupation forces."

Among 20 individuals who delivered addresses in favor of independence in the city hall, a note of discord was sounded in the words of Deputy N. Surovikin from Sillamyae and V. Chuykin from Narva. In particular, the latter stated:

"We have here the major interests of two large population groups—Estonian and Russian-speaking. These interests do not as yet coincide on the question of independence. Not by a long shot are all Russians prepared to become emigres. It seems to me a serious policy should emerge from understanding, taking into account, and joining these interests."

His words were proven accurate by the further course of events—101 votes were cast against the political declaration of the independence of Estonia which was adopted by the assembly, and 16 deputies abstained, of 3,090 present. And it must be noted that these are people from the Russian-speaking community. The mechanical operation of the majority began to be seen when, following adoption of the declaration, a group of deputies from Narva, Kokhtla-Yarva, Sillamyae, and Tallinn requested the floor so that their representatives could promulgate a political declaration. When they were refused, their delegations left the hall. The majority then thought better of it and gave the floor to those desiring to speak. The mistake was corrected, but at what price is difficult to imagine. It was emphasized in the declaration that the deputies support the aspiration of the Estonian people for independence, and that they see this in a renewed federation.

There is one further matter of significance. A recurring theme through the speeches and addresses was the idea of the necessity to unite political forces which have set as their goal the achievement of state independence for Estonia. This idea materialized in the declaration and record published at the assembly of the commission for political and economic independence, which is up for confirmation by the Estonian Supreme Soviet. The commission includes representatives of influential political forces of the republic, including the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party.

On 4 February, the republic newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published a report on the establishment in Estonia of a 25-man Committee for the Defense of Soviet Rule and Civil Rights. It is headed by a bureau of seven individuals.

This committee delivered a declaration to the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet which stated:

"The committee believes that constant disregard on the part of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR for the views of the 'For Equal Rights' deputies' group and certain decisions of the local soviets has led to the aggravation of interethnic relations in the republic.

"Clear, demonstrative evidence of disregard for the opinion of the minority is seen in the 'Declaration on the Territorial Integrity of the Estonian SSR' and declaration on statehood of Estonia, which are directed towards taking the republic out of the USSR, and which do not respond to the interests of a significant portion of the Estonian population.

"In this regard, the committee expresses its lack of confidence in the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and takes upon itself the functions of coordinating legitimate rule in cities, rayons, and other populated areas which recognize its right to implement existing legislation of the USSR and Estonian SSR.

"We announce at the same time that we do not recognize a single legislative act adopted since 16 November 1988 in violation of civil rights and the USSR Constitution, and declare an act of civil disobedience with respect to their application. All subsequent legislative acts adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet enter into force following their registration by the committee."

Thus we see that the confrontation of political forces in the republic is reaching a qualitatively new, dangerous level.

## 'Illegal Decisions' in Tallinn Noted

*LD1402142790 Mosocw TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 14 Feb 90*

["Tallinn Authorities Said To Be Refusing To Help With Military Call-up"—TASS headline]

Illegal decisions adopted in Tallinn [Text] Tallinn, 14 Feb (TASS)—The newspaper VECHERNIY TALLINN has published a report that the Tallinn city soviet, allegedly in accordance with the law on the foundations of local self-government and the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [ESSR] legal labor code, has adopted the decision to consider the participation of its executive bodies in the call-up for active service in the USSR Armed forces as impermissible.

The decisions adopted run rounter to the requirements of the USSR Constitution, the ESSR Constitution and also a number of other legislative acts, military procurator, Lt. Col. of the legal service, A. Gladilin stated, commenting on this report. Thus, the resolution of the republican Supreme Soviet of 6 December 1989 on "organization of military service of citizens of the Estonian SSR" indicates the need to avoid excesses in questions connected with the armed forces of the USSR. The ESSR Supreme Soviet resolution on "historical-legal evaluation of the events which took place in Estonia in 1940" did not entail suspension of the effect of the normative acts which have been passed and which have legal force in the republic.

Lack of respect for the law from official persons engenders disrespect for it from citizens. The military procuracy is nowadays having to carry out checks regarding several servicemen who have attempted to evade military service, having come to believe in the justice of the lawlessness perpetrated by individual officials and by leaders of so-called organizations for struggle against the "occupation troops" (as they have started calling here the units of the Soviet Army and Navy stationed on Estonia's territory). These persons have committed acts deeds which are covered under articles on military crimes.

In the period of the autumn call-up campaign and afterwards, the military procuracy has repeatedly informed the procuracy of the Estonian SSR about instances of failure of call-up recruits to appear at military commissions. However, neither procuracy bodies nor Internal Affairs bodies have taken any steps against the "refuseniks".

The "Geneva-49" committee has declared itself to be one of the main "fighters" against the "occupation regime". At its Tallinn headquarters, one can if one wishes receive a "qualified" consultation on methods for avoidance of military service.

In all, more than 100 recruits did not come to military commissions in autumn 1989, according to the reports. This is a serious signal for territorial law enforcement bodies, but they still have a placid attitude to the activities of the "Geneva-49" committee, which urges young people towards crimes.

## Dneprodzerzhinsk Plenum Notes 'Confidence' Issue

*LD1402171590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] The question of the confidence of primary party organizations in the town committee of the CPSU is being considered today at a plenum of the Dneprodzerzhinsk Oblast Party Committee. A demand that the present composition of the town committee should resign was heard for the first time at a meeting which was organized by a block of democratic forces. After that meetings took place in primary party organiztions at which communists expressed their views. An appraisal will be given at the plenum of the events that are taking place and an organizational matter is also on the agenda.

## Salaries of Party Officials Made Public

*LD1402160690 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Kiev February 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Demidenko:

Ukrainian newspapers today published data on the salaries of republican party functionaries, which were shrouded in secrecy for decades. Only a few people knew about salaries of the staff of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

In an interview with RATAU-TASS, Konstanitn Prodan, business manager of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said that the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee decided to raise salaries of party workers from October 1, 1989 because their salaries were lower than those of managers and specialists at enterprises and organisations.

This situation seriously hampered the selection of party personnel, he noted.

Various categories of party officials now draw the following monthly salaries: first secretaries of regional party committees—750-850 roubles, heads of regional party committee divisions—500-600, instructors—330-400, first secretaries of city and district committees—500-600, instructors of city and district committees—280-350 roubles.

Monthly salaries of the staff of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee: Central Committee secretaries draw 870 roubles, department heads—650-700 and instructors—400-450 roubles.

Prodan emphasised that pay raises paid out of the party budget which is fully cost-accounting. [as received]

Expenses incurred as a result of pay raises were set off by funds saved due to cuts in staff. The reorganization of party committees resulted in a 30 percent reduction of the number of high-ranking party officials at the Ukrainian Party Central Committee and a 27 percent reduction in regional party committees.

## Religious Conflict in Western Ukraine Viewed

*LD1102212690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[From the 'Seven Days' program presented by Aleksandr Krutov; video report from V. Kostenko, identified by screen caption]

[Text] We are now hearing about the tense situation taking shape in the western oblasts of the Ukraine due to a conflict between believers—Orthodox and Catholics of the Eastern Rite or Uniates, as they are called.

[Kostenko] Virtually everyone with whom we had an occasion to speak believed that the main danger was from extremist minded persons who, as a rule, belonged to the Greek Catholics. [video shows exterior of church, Ukrainian blue-yellow flag is flying]

Churches are being seized by violence. The law is being crudely violated. In their aspiration to get ahold of the church building at any price, they do not even stop at such a step as seizing hostages. Not long ago in the town of Sambor in Lvov oblast, the whole town executive committee was blockaded in the town hall. The crowd surrounding the executive committee demanded that a decision be adopted on the immediate handing over of the Orthodox Church of the Birth of Our Lady to the Greek Catholic Community. [video shows people on street speaking irately in Ukrainian]

[Begin A.A. Fetisov recording chairman of the Sambor Executive Committee] They came out and read an ultimatum to us explaining that they were occupying the building and that we were hostages. The members of the Executive Committee—12 of them were present—remained in that state for some time. In addition, the procurator was declared a hostage. [end recording]

[Kostenko] There is an ecclesiastical crisis in the western Ukraine at present. Some radicals from the so-called Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Popular Movement for Perestroyka [Rukh], the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and other figures from numerous informal groups and organizations are attempting in their speeches at meetings to move these ecclesiastical problems onto a political level, using whatever methods they can, and to use the tension which has come about in the struggle for votes and the struggle for power. [video shows interviews with citizens lamenting lack of respect for church, arguments and scuffles between locals] The matter is further complicated by the fact that the Greek Catholic community has not been registered. This process has only just begun. It is unknown exactly how many Greek Catholics there are and how many Orthodox are left.

[Begin Father Nikolay recording, prior of Ivano-Frankovsk Greek Catholic Cathedral] Well, you know, this is our fifth day in this church. It is Thursday today. Yes, it is our fifth day. On Sunday we held a festive liturgy to consecrate the church. There were many people here and our bishops consecrated this church and then it belonged to us. The point is that until 1946, throughout the western Ukraine there were six or seven Russian Orthodox churches. We have no claims on those, of course, and the majority of our people in all honesty and conscience would like these churches to be handed over to their real owners in a peaceful way and with love. They would also like everything to be in accordance with the canons, so that laws are not violated, of course. [video shows priest in robes and congregation in church] [end recording]

[Kostenko] One act of violence inevitably engenders another. Also in Sambor, the Orthodox managed to regain a church which had earlier been taken from them. If things had gone a bit further people might have been hurt. At that point a specially summoned police subunit was ready to intervene if needed in the conflict, but bloodshed was avoided nonetheless. [video shows people praying at outdoor shrine]

[Begin Father Aleksandr recording, prior of the Church of the Birth of Our Lady, Sambor] We are in the church of the Birth of Our Lady, the church which was seized by the Greek Catholics on the night of 30 - 31 [January] at three in the morning. They broke down the door and remained in the church for 24 hours. For an entire day the community of the Orthodox believers fought to free the church. [video shows priest in robes in church] [end recording]

[Krutov] I don't know whether you agree, but in my view one of the reasons for the situation which has come about is the half-heartedness of the actions of the local authorized soviets for religious affairs and the representatives of soviet power. But be that as it may, lawlessness cannot be justified by any methods. One group of people cannot build its happiness on the unhappiness of others. I am firmly convinced of this. In a few days time, a four-party commission will start work in the western Ukraine with the participation of representatives of the Vatican, the Moscow Patriarchate and the communities of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholics. As they say, may God let them reach agreement so that peace and tranquility can be established in that region.

## PRAVDA's Frolov Visits Vinnitsa Electorate

*LD1102213390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[Text] Between 9 and 11 February Frolov, CPSU Central Committee secretary and the chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA, has been visiting Vinnitsa Oblast. At the meeting with the oblast party activists, a discussion took place about ways to renovate the party as a major condition for radical economic reform and positive changes in the social and spiritual spheres. The CPSU Central Committee secretary aquainted himself with working of the Mir collective farm in the Shargorod Rayon. Being the USSR people's deputy for the Tulchin territorial constituency No. 409, he met his electorate and answered their petitions. Also here in the Tulchin Rayon, a conversation took place with the figures in educational and cultural fields. Comrade Frolov has addressed the oblast's journalists.

### Roundtable on Discontent Among Slavs

*PM1302115690 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 8 Feb 90 p 20*

["Roundtable" interview with STEPEN editor Pavel Kuznetsov, UKRAINIAN WORD editor Kirill Mitrovich, Chaurus Chairman Mikhail Naumovich, and People's Labor Alliance member Boris Miller by Emeric Fisset in Paris—date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Slavs make up more than two-thirds of the Soviet population. At a time when the peripheral nationalities are threatening the empire's cohesion, will the Ukrainians and Belorussians also maintain their nationalist demand? Or will they strengthen the Russian camp—half of the population? That was the subject of a roundtable which was recently held at LE QUOTIDIEN's offices.

[Fisset] Pavel Kuznetsov, you are a historian of Russian thought and the editor of the independent newspaper STEPEN. What is the present situation in Leningrad, from where you have just arrived?

[Kuznetsov] It is critical: Perestroyka is marking time. Gorbachev is still a prisoner of the apparatus, and the opposition forces are too weak to make any radical change in the course of events. Compared with the former satellite countries, we have reason to complain of a combination of unfavorable economic, cultural, and national factors. With regard to economic factors, the new structures are suffering enormous pressure from the system and are seen in rather a bad light by the population. Indeed, cooperatives make it possible to achieve big profits in a world which has always advocated equal wages. They sometimes conceal fraudulent activities: reselling at higher prices state goods bought with the help of bribes; laundering money.... Over the past two weeks in Leningrad, ration cards have been issued to all to protect the remaining consumer goods, notably from Baltic purchasers who have also suffered very high price increases. Cultural factors play a large role. Recently, information which had been concealed from us for 70 years has been freely circulated; the previous regimes' crimes are on the front pages of all the newspapers. Nothing seems good about the Soviet experiment which the peripheral nationalists tend to regard as a Russian experiment. Soviet mistakes must not be erroneously seen as Russian mistakes. You cannot talk of Russian tanks but Soviet ballets! Finally, the national problems could only be eradicated if the economic situation was stabilized.

[Fisset] Kirill Mitrovich, as editor of UKRAINIAN WORD, what is your answer?

[Mitrovich] Our Russian elder brother must lose the habit of speaking on our behalf. It is high time that we regained our usurped historical awareness. The 1,000th anniversary of the coming of Christianity to Russia, celebrated with great pomp in 1988, was in fact the 1,000th anniversary of the coming of Christianity to the Ukraine. It was in the year 988 that Vladimir, grand prince of Kiev, was converted to Christianity: Moscow did not exist at the time. It was only in the middle of the 17th century that we lost our glorious independence. The Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev was founded in 1632, and Moscow University—in fact just an ordinary high school—was not founded until 1755. We Ukrainians, when singing the Soviet national anthem, are forced to speak the words Great Russia twice. Our dear neighbors have benefited from the Soviet system, notably through their linguistic domination—only one fourth of schools are Ukrainian—and their religious domination—the negation of the Uniate and autocephalous churches which were linked to Moscow. Moreover, almost one-fourth of the Ukraine's 55 million inhabitants are Russian.

That is why we, as Slavs, are not particularly in favor of maintaining an empire which no Russian political party, under the influence of the late Sakharov, wants to dismantle. In the short term, the ecological struggle continues in the field with demands that the construction of any new nuclear power station (notably on the Azov Sea) be abandoned and that all those in operation be dismantled gradually.

With regard to Chernobyl and Zhitomir, we demand the publication of the official observations, because genetic anomalies have recently appeared. With the strikes by the Donbass miners, some social demands are being made and the kernels of professional associations represent the timid beginnings of free trade unions. You know, the Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] has just organized a human chain from Kiev to Lviv (Lvov in Russian), in other words over more than 500 km. For instance, on 21 January, we commemorated the Ukrainian National Republic that was proclaimed 71 years before. At a time when Europe is being formed, our model is a confederation of sovereign peoples in the Soviet Union!

[Fisset] Mikhail Naumovich, as chairman of the Chaurus [as published] Belorussian Union, what is your feeling?

[Naumovich] Some of the problems which exist in the Ukraine also exist in Belorussia. First, the language problem: In Minsk, with 1.5 million inhabitants, 40 Belorussian schools have just opened.

The ecological problem is extremely serious: One-tenth of our rich land was contaminated by the Chernobyl disaster. Finally, the historical problem of our annexation after the short period of independence, proclaimed on 25 March 1918, has resurfaced in a painful way. Following the discovery of a mass grave of 300,000 bodies in Kuropate, young people and students became aware of the horror of the 1940-1941 Stalinist repression of our people. Henceforth, the Russians are on trial. The symbol of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of which we were part, is now worn inside the lapels of many jackets. In the rural districts, some peasants have even painted their fences in the colors of our flag—white, red, and white. Let us put an end to the days when we were beaten for claiming to be Lithuanian rather than Belorussian! Our 10 million people are waking up to what they have lost through contact with our too powerful elder brother.

[Fisset] Boris Miller, you have been active within the People's Labor Alliance for years. What is your reaction to your Slav brothers?

[Miller] All the criticisms mentioned are not to do with the Russian people's character but with the party and KGB apparatus.

As fear is removed, constructive—but often nationalist—forces are emerging.

We ought all to seek what unites us rather than what divides us. We should prefer constructive words to those which sow discord and doubt, especially at a time when the government, having lost the means of repression, has not yet found mechanisms to replace force. The informal movements which have appeared in 140 cities in the USSR must be welcomed as the early signs of a new awareness—among intellectuals, of course, but especially among young people and workers. The demands of the miners in the Vorkuta basin were not just economic, but also demands of a civic nature. Democracy is being prepared; but it does not arise spontaneously, especially not by rejecting our whole past, however painful it might be. The solution to the very worrying economic problem depends on a return to private ownership and the improvement of distribution networks, rather than a production. The solution to the total degeneration of the government, to the crisis of confidence, and to legitimate national demands does not lie in models outside the USSR, in disunity and chaos. It lies within us, in our desire to finally become full citizens.

## Kharkov Obkom Elects First Secretary

*90UN0856A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Jan 90 p 1*

[RATAU report: "A Plenum of the Kharkov Party Obkom"]

[Text] An expanded plenum of the Kharkov Obkom [oblast committee] of the Ukrainian Communist Party took place on 5 January to consider an organizational matter. The plenum was held at the request of Obkom First Secretary V.P. Mysnichenko, that he be relieved of his duties in connection with his retirement on pension.

The unusual nature of the situation was that at the proposal of the party organizations and in accordance with a decision adopted at a previous plenum, in addition to the obkom members and candidate members and the members of the oblast auditing commission, this present plenum was also attended by 156 representatives selected from the primary party organizations in the oblast who have the right to vote. And, indeed, even the preparations for the plenum were not traditional. A commission was set up to organize it. It reviewed all proposals on possible candidates for the post of first secretary, of whom there were more than 40, and held talks and meetings with the contenders, which were reported through the local mass media. On the eve of the plenum a number of the candidates appeared on television. Sharp discussions even took place at the plenum itself, where each of those recommended set forth his own platform.

Those present at the plenum talked about the inadequate dynamism of the process of perestroyka in the oblast and about acute problems in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. Specific proposals were submitted on making improvements in the work of the party obkom and city and rayon committees and the primary party organizations, improving cadre policy, extending internal party democracy, strengthening discipline and order, and consolidating society. Preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress and the upcoming elections for Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and for the local soviets were discussed.

The plenum relieved V.P. Mysnichenko of his duties as first secretary of the party obkom. There was also other cadre changes.

Eight candidates were discussed for the post of first secretary. Five of them withdrew, and this was approved.

Of the three remaining candidates A.K. Myalitsa, who had worked previously as general director of the Kharkov Aviation Production Association imeni Leninksiy Komsomol, was elected by secret ballot as Kharkov Obkom first secretary.

V.A. Ivashko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

## Archbishop Kirill on Ukraine Church Conflict

*PM1502103090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, chairman of Moscow Patriarchate Department of External Church Relations, by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Charodeyev: "Results of the Archiepiscopal Council"—date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is Charodeyev introduction]

[Text] The Archiepiscopal Council of the Russian Orthodox Church has ended in Moscow. It made the decision to give the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Moscow Patriarchate another official title—the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and to give the Belorussian Exarchate the title of the Belorussian Orthodox Church. Within them, the highest legislative, executive, and judicial authority will be vested in an exarchate synod of five ruling members of the higher orders of clergy. It was noted that the extensive rights of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Orthodox Churches will enable believers to live independently in accordance with their national church traditions.

"However, the main theme of our council is the exacerbation of the so-called Uniate problem in certain regions of the Western Ukraine," Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, chairman of Moscow Patriarchate Department of External Church Relations, said in an interview with IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "Let me remind you that from 12 through 17 January of this year at Moscow's Danilov Monastery talks took place between representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Moscow Patriarchate, as a result of which joint 'recommendations' were drawn up. This was a confidential document until it was ratified by the authorities of both churches. On 24 January the document was approved by the pope and on 31 January by the Archiepiscopal Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. It has now been presented to the public. It is the fruit of intensive and fruitful talks. Both sides expressed concern about the situation in the Ukraine and readiness to do everything to lay a firm foundation for the document's implementation. We agreed to create a quadripartite combined Orthodox-Catholic commission. Representatives of the Vatican and of the Moscow Patriarchate, and also of the Orthodox Church and of the Catholics of the Eastern Rite (Uniates), will take part in it. The Holy Synod has already appointed Metropolitan Mefodiy of Voronezh and Lipetsk to this commission. As regards the Orthodox representatives from the Western Ukraine, they will be appointed by a synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church—that is their internal affair.

"The document also makes provision for the satisfaction of the rights of the Catholics of the Eastern Rite to legal existence. The agreement between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church confirms the legitimacy of such aspirations. That is the first point. The second is that we reaffirm the necessity of excluding any violence and any arbitrariness, since all these factors hinder the normal process of reconciliation and legalization of the Catholics of the Eastern Rite.

"The laws that are enforced in the state must form the basis of the whole normalization process. Catholics of the Eastern Rite must organize themselves into communities and places of worship must be placed at their disposal on the same basis on which other denominations in the Soviet Union register their communities and are given premises for their needs. The rights of some must not be satisfied at the expense of others. The concepts of 'majority' and 'minority' are not decisive in the realization of human rights problems. Both the majority and the minority can lay equal claim to these rights. This is our general moral principle. We consider that in every case people must themselves, without any outside pressure, blackmail, or threats, make up their minds about their choice of denomination. When there is a division inside an Orthodox community which is already operating, and one section of it states that its believers wish to become Greek Catholics, but they have only one place of worship, then all problems must be resolved on the basis of people's free self-determination. We insist on a secret ballot so that it is not outsiders, as hitherto, but the community members themselves who determine their future fate. At the same time the majority will have to look after the minority irrespective of whether it is Catholic or Orthodox."

[Charodeyev] And how is the situation in the Western Ukraine turning out?

[Kirill] After reports of the talks between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church appeared in the press, many local authorities, under pressure from extremist Uniates, started handing Orthodox places of worship over to them. I want to emphasize that this violates our existing state laws. I have already said that according to the established system a community must be registered. A place of worship is the property of the state and a group of Orthodox believers is already leasing it. A contract for the use of the place of worship has at some time been concluded between this community and the authorities. The authorities have the right to cancel it only if appropriate grounds exist, and then to conclude a new contract with another community. But this other community must exist, if this is to happen. It must be registered. But what is actually happening? In the Western Ukraine today not a single Greek Catholic community has been registered. At the same time places of worship have been handed over to communities of Catholics of the Eastern Rite in a number of places as, for example, in Ivano-Frankovsk. This is a gross violation of the law. Events in Ivano-Frankovsk caused very great tension within our church and forced us to put many questions before the Council for Religious Affairs. In various publications it is reported that N. Kolesnik, chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Council for Religious Affairs, took it upon himself to hand over the Cathedral of the Resurrection in Ivano-Frankovsk to the Uniates. He had no right to be involved in handing over a place of worship to a community which has not been registered by the authorities. He had no right to hand over this place of worship to others without a formal annulment of the contract with Orthodox believers. Consequently the conflict has not ended, but continues to grow more acute by the hour. On the very first day we received dozens of telegrams in which Orthodox parishioners demand our prompt intervention. Now Archbishop Makariy, head of the eparchy, has nowhere to conduct divine service. In effect he has been thrown out into the street as a result of an unlawful act on the part of the authorities.

The Archiepiscopal Council, protesting the unlawful acts of the local organs of power in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts and the ineffective measures of oblast agents of the Council for Religious Affairs in their activities to ensure lawfulness, appealed to the USSR and Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Governments with an urgent request to bring about the immediate cessation of violent and unlawful acts, so that existing problems of the relationship between Orthodox believers and Catholics of the Eastern Rite in the Western Ukraine are resolved on a legal basis, taking account of the interests and rights of the sides, with no discrimination and with respect for the agreements worked out as a result of talks between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church.

We are very concerned by reports from the Western Ukraine about the exacerbation of the situation and consider it necessary to put into effect without delay the mechanism of reconciliation on which we agreed with Vatican representatives.

I want to draw readers' attention to the fact that this is by no means an interdenominational conflict. It is not a conflict between Orthodox believers and Catholics. If everything fell within the framework of interchurch relations, then we could very quickly eradicate it. For their own political ends extremist groups are skillfully exploiting the historical problem of relations between Orthodox believers and Catholics in the Western Ukraine. This is our common conviction.

[Charodeyev] Which solution to the situation that has been created does the Russian Orthodox Church consider the most acceptable?

[Kirill] Our Vatican colleagues informed me that immediately after his return to Rome 8 February, the pope will appoint a representative to the combined commission. The commission could get down to work somewhere after 15 February. It will have to visit the Western Ukraine and begin to tackle specific questions of normalizing the position of Catholics of the Eastern Rite, including the problem of the use of existing places of worship, for instance in Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk. At this point the process of registering Greek Catholic parishes on a legal basis could begin. We believe that in a number of regions there will be no problems at all We cannot do without the participation of local authorities—they must take all steps to prevent any violence or lawlessness.

---

## Health Consequences of Chernobyl Reported

*90UN0736C Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Dec 89 p 3*

[Ukrainian News Agency report: "The Medical Consequences of Chernobyl: Three Years Later"]

[Text] One can say, without exaggeration, that the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station today worries every inhabitant of the republic. And althoug the levels of radiation in the regions that were subjected to radioactive contamination continue to diminish, the emotional reaction of the population, as is not paradoxical, on the contrary, is growing. This is the result of many factors, but insufficient information does not play the last role.

Now, according to the results of hundreds of thousands of measurements of the dose load in people living in the polluted territories, as well as analyses of the radioactivity of the soil, air, food products, and water, it has been established that after 3 years the total dose of irradiation of the population proved to be 2-3 times lower than had been supposed. True, not included here are the doses of irradiation of the thyroid gland with radio-iodine.

These data were cited at the press conference that took place in Kiev—at the All-Union Scientific Center of Radiation Medicine of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. It was noted that the complex of measures implemented to guarantee the radiation safety of the population lowered the average doses of irration in terms of the iodine factor three- to fourfold, in terms of the caesium factor (internal radiation)—ten- to twentyfold, and in terms of the external factor—up to twofold. This is the consequence of preventive measures being carried out in the republic. At the same time, the does of the overall irration of some workers in forestry and agriculture exceed by approximately a factor of two the magnitude for people living in the given locality.

The results of clinical observations and epidemiological research have shown that certain changes are being noted in the state of health of the child and adult population of the regions of the republic being controlled—changes which are connected not only with the improvement of the revelation of diseases, but also with the consequences of the events at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. It has been established that, under the influence of the ionizing radiations, the overall resistive capacity of an organism changes. This may be promote the growth of somatic diseases.

The improvement of the social protection of the people, who took part in the liquidation of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, the conception of the magnitude of the irradiation in the course of the life of a person, equal to 35 rem, the influence of small doses of radiation on health, the economic activity in the polluted regions, the individual radiation monitors and the radiometers for the population, and the provision of the regions of Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts that suffered with medicine and food products—here is a far from complete list of questions that interested the participants of the meeting. A sharpdiscussion ensued in regard to a whole series of problems that were discussed.

The questions of journalists were answered by the Ukrainian SSR minister of health, Yu. P. Spizhenko, the director of the All-Union Scientific Center of Radiation Medicine of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, A. Ye. Romanenko, the director of the Institute of Endocrinology and Metabolism of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, N. D. Tronko, the director of the Institute of Clinical Radiology of the All-Union Scientific Center of Radiation Medicine, V. G. Bebeshko, and the directors of a number of subdivisions of the center of radiation medicine.

The journalists taking part in the press conference visited the laboratories of the center and familiarized themselves with the domestic and foreign apparatus operating here.

## Meeting on Chernobyl Held in Gomel

*90UN0736B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 89 p 2*

[Article by A. Gotovchits: "Zone of Special Attention: The Chernobyl Bell, Notes from an Ecological Meeting at the Gomel Polytechnical Institute"]

[Text] "Don't ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee!" These words from the Hemingway novel resounded at the meeting and became its distinctive leitmotiv, the appeal not to sit with arms folded, to unite in the struggle against the common misfortune that has befallen the Belorussian cities and villages.

The chairman of the Permanent Commission of the Belorussian [Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet and secretary of the Gomel Obkom of the Belorussian Communist Party, V. N. Smolyar, the engineer E.G. Kosykh, the USSR people's deputies V. N. Korneyenko and Yu. I. Voronezhtsev, the teacher T. I. Rynskaya, and many others who spoke at the meeting, talked about the terrible misfortune which the Chernobyl catastrophy visited upon the republic. Part of the territory proved to be unfit for normal living. The health of children, women, and the entire population is under a real threat. Gomel Oblast suffered more than the others. Its territory accounts for 55 percent of the pollution of the radionuclides of the European part of the country.

For the improvement of the biological situation, urgent large-scale scientific, medical, and socio-economic measures are required. They were set forth in the state program adopted at the 12th session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, for whose realization 17 billion rubles, as a minimum, are required. Without the help of the entire country, the republic will not cope with this program. However, in the opinion of the speakers, the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a compromise decision. It only approved the elaboration of the program already developed in the Belorussian SSR and postponed its confirmation, that is it failed to give it the status of a statute, so that the program would begin to be fully effective already as of January of next year. A number of the participants of the meeting believe that the government of the republic is not sufficiently insistent in standing up for the confirmation of the program in the USSR Supreme Soviet, relying only on the people's deputies.

Demands were also heard from the platform to call to account those who created artificial secrets and concealed the magnitude of the Chernobyl catastrophy and its danger for the health of the population. As a result, people were subjected to senseless irradiation with radionuclides and especially at the mass festivals and demonstrations in May 1986.

Unfortunately, the meeting did not manage without demagogic speeches, political twaddle, and simply irresponsible statements. For example, a pensioner, Comrade Katz accused officials of "having squandered on drink money" earmarked for the elimination of the consequences of the accident.

The resolution of the meeting included demands to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet to show humaneness and to fully confirm the program, adopted in the republic, for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, in order for it to have the status of a statute already as of 1 January 1990. The participants of the meeting expressed their protest against the order of the USSR Council of Ministers, according to which 66 million rubles of national funds, which were received in Account No. 904, were handed over to the culprit of the accident—the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power. These funds, it is stated in the resolution, should be returned to Account No. 904 for expenditure directly for the needs of the people who suffered, to improve the provision of children with quality food products. The meeting also spoke in favor of the unconditional closing of the potentially dangerous Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station.

In conclusion, I would like to talk about the organization of this mass measure. The necessity of such a meeting was supported by the Gomel Voters' Club and a number of informal associations already before the session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, which adopted the State Program for the elimination of the consequences of the accident. Even letters were sent to the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] apropos of this, but under various pretexts it refused to hold the meeting.

This time the president of the Belorussian Ecological Union, B. P. Savitskiy, and the chairman of the recently-created Gomel Oblast Ecological Union, V. V. Kharitonov, appealed to the executive committee. The meeting was authorized. The gorispolkom also determined the place for the meeting: the assembly hall of the university.

For the university administration, the decision of the gorispolkom came as an unexpected bit of news: Neither the organizers, nor the [city] executive committee, as the rector, L. A. Shemetkov, asserts, made a request to prepare the premises. It was necessary for the executive committee to rewrite its own decision and to determine a new place: The assembly hall of the polytechnical institute. Meanwhile, leaflets of the "Green Leaf" [Zelenyy list], one of the organizations making up the Belorussian Ecological Union, had already been put up in the city. In the leaflets the place of the meeting was reported: The assembly hall of the university. Many who did not hear the announcements on the radio about the change of the meeting to the polytechnical institute turned out to be mislead. However, they did not encounter open doors, but a detail of the militia.

"They sent us here," the deputy chief of the Central Rayon Department of Internal Affairs, Captain M. A. Baranov, explained, to let people know about the change of the meeting to the polytechnical institute.

And the last thing. The concluding part of the almost five-hour meeting crumpled. V. V. Kharitonov, who was in charge, hurried to get done and to disconnect the microphone, in spite of the fact that a representative of the "Green Leaf", M. Yu. Sorin, had offered an alternative resolution. Little was required: To elect an equal commission to work out the final text of the resolution. Dozens of people, who had remained in the room after the meeting was ended, sloganized: "Microphone! Microphone!" In the end, the meeting was continued. Already at the last moment, a joint commission and committee to oversee the execution of the resolutions of the meeting was elected.

## Plight of Chernobyl Vets Described

*90UN0864A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 90 p 1*

[Letter from Chernobyl veteran Vladimir Shilov: "I, Vladimir Shilov, Chernobyl Veteran"]

[Text] I apologize to you, dear editors of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, for bothering you. I know that you will not publish my letter. However, I want you to fulfill my wish (to be sure, I am nervous because it is the first time that I write). I want to write to you about the real truth on Chernobyl.

Me and the guys, my comrades from the Novodzerzhinskaya mine, were taken from a military commissariat. This happened, as I vividly remember, on 20 August 1986. We were taken there on an AN-12 military aircraft; there were very many of us there. We flew to the city of Belaya Tserkov. Subsequently, we changed into military uniforms and were driven at night to what I found out later was Ivankovskiy Rayon, the village of Oranoye. When they took us all to Unit 4 for post-accident cleanup for the first time I saw with my own eyes the fir and other trees which were red. Of course, I was not frightened because I was performing my duty to my Motherland, and was very proud of that, and in that I was not alone.

We worked without any means of protection; we only had gauze bandages against radioactive dust. All of us were referred to there as green robots. Over there, we worked in the super-contaminated zone which was surrounded by barbed wire. There were patrols everywhere so that no outsider would be able to get into this zone. We were assigned to work on details—some to carry bricks, some to wash the walls of Unit 4; we got to work everywhere. We tossed down graphite rods from the roof, and in the basement we scooped out radioactive dirt with water by buckets. This dirt was severely contaminated whereas, I repeat, we were without any protective means... All kinds of things happened.

This is how almost a month passed in the zone. During this time, no doctor examined us. The food was not good; however, we could drink mineral water to our heart's content. After every trip to Unit 4, we washed ourselves in the bath over there several times. The boots and overalls became unusable every day; they issued us new overalls and the old, contaminated ones were burned. Look at all the money the state spent cleaning up after the accident!

This is what I am going to say. As I have already written, we worked in the zone of increased contamination. For every such trip to Unit 4 we were assigned 0.5 roentgen an hour, and at times 1.5 roentgen. At times, we worked in special locations, such that we could only be there for five-10 minutes. There was a case when six of us carried water from the basements where filters were installed (we worked there for an hour—I timed it). As the senior of the group, I took readings of the contamination—the dirt read up to 70 roentgen, and the water up to 45. The superior who assigned us to the detail entered 1.5 roentgen an hour for everyone. I took issue with him: "How can you enter this contamination dose after we have been working for almost an hour in this basement? You should enter the truth, as much as there is." He told us: "I have no right to enter such a dose. I see this, but I cannot do so; my superiors will scold me."

We lived in tents in the field. We frequently saw the Pripyat River and the fish floating down the river. Right there, where we lived, we could not hear the birds. Even the mosquitoes had died off. I saw how cars, KRAZ and KAMAZ trucks, as well as passenger cars, were buried in the ground. At the time, the village of Oranoye was empty; the shops were closed, and nobody lived in the houses. All the wells were also closed.

It has been more than three years since. Our health has deteriorated. We have performed our duty, and now we are slowly dying in silence. We cannot even have children though we would like to. However, children are born crippled. Can the state not see that young men are passing away? I was a patient at the hospital in Donetsk and saw how all of it was overflowing with Chernobyl veterans. Nobody could help them. The years pass, and the guys pass away. Children are orphaned. They should undertake urgent treatment for us. However, when I told a professor on inspection that I am not the only one like this here, that there are many of us, and that we are not receiving the treatment needed, he just smiled and said nothing, and the second time around he said that no such equipment is available.

Currently, I work as a stope miner at a mine. Of course, it is difficult for me, but so far I have managed. However, my health is not good. My memory has begun to go, I forget the names of my friends and even my registration number. My feet have started to hurt, and I have frequent spells of dizziness. People look at me with amazement.

Indeed, we have performed our duty to the Motherland, but the Motherland has no desire to care for us. We enjoy no preferences. We have no certificates of participating in the Chernobyl events. They have been abolished. They should have issued certificates for preferences to us just so that we could, say, buy food, or be allotted a washing machine, or get on a preferential waiting list for apartments. Once I received a letter of commendation from there and gave it to the former director of the mine Glebov who said: We will give you a bonus someday. So, I waited for my bonus for three years, and only the miners' strike helped me secure it. This is the use all of them have for us.

**Dzerzhinsk, Donetsk Oblast**

We have turned to the issues of Chernobyl many times and reported on the people whose fate has been wittingly or unwittingly associated with it. V. Shilov and the soldiers of the interior troops guarding the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station] and the contaminated area around it ("The Forgotten Garrison," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 23 June 1989) are among them.

As early as the end of July, the USSR Council of Ministers charged the Minatomenergoprom [Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry], the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], the Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], and the USSR Ministry of Defense with "taking the measures necessary and reporting the execution." The MVD and the Ministry of Defense worked out their proposals, the medics stepped aside, but the main culprit, the master of the AES, continuously needed more time for deliberation; it kept trying to saddle the troops with additional expenses for guarding the station...until finally a team of the Chief Military Procuracy performed an inspection in the regiment which fully confirmed the facts which we had reported.

Yesterday, a collegium of the Chief Military Procuracy was held which touched on the issue of the stay in Chernobyl of young people between 18 and 20 years of age as one of a multitude of facts on the use of the Army in contravention of the regulations and the law. USSR Chief Military Prosecutor Lieutenant General of the Judicial Service A. Katusev issued an instruction to Chief of the Interior Troops Colonel General Yu. Shatalin on eliminating immediately the violations of requirements of the basic legislation on health care and the USSR Constitution and on taking measures to remove the personnel beyond the confines of the zone to this end.

However, this solves only a part of the problem.

This is why we welcome the initiative of the Maksimovs, the television journalists who undertook to conduct on 26 April a new telethon to benefit the victims of the Chernobyl accident.

This is why we also publish today an appeal by the people who have resolved to devote all of their spare time to aiding the victims of Chernobyl: "The Coordinating Council of the All-Union Social Movement, the 'Chernobyl' Union appeals to the labor collectives of the country with a call to dedicate the All-Union Leninist Communist Volunteer Work Drive in April of this year to the cause of helping those who have suffered from the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

"Hundreds of thousands of people need medical care. Young invalids receive meager pensions and are not in a position to provide for their families. The populace in the contaminated areas of Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Russia cannot use farm goods.

"We appeal in particular to the Soviet citizens and collectives earning hard currency. You may save many of those who need imported drugs and skilled medical care.

"The funds generated by this volunteer work drive will be allocated for medical and social aid to individuals.

"We await suggestions on specific forms of aid. The 'Chernobyl' Union hopes that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA will consult its readers and will ensure public monitoring of the spending of the funds collected."

## Plan To Eliminate Chernobyl Effects Drafted

*LD1302231790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[Text] Kiev, 13 Feb (TASS)—The aim of the draft integrated program to eliminate the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES] is to create conditions for the population to live and work in safety in all the monitored regions which were subjected to radioactive contamination. The program was elaborated by Ukrainian scientists and should be implemented in the 10-year period from 1990-2000. The draft is published today in the republican press.

The situation in the zone affected by radiation remains complicated, the publication notes. Government concern is caused primarily by people's state of health.

According to the results of prophylactic medical examinations, among those living on polluted territories there was observed to be an increase in 1987-1989 in illnesses of the upper respiratory tracts, the gastro-intestinal tract, an increase in the number of iron-deficiency anemias, incompleted pregnancies, manifestations of hyperplasia of the thyroid gland. At the present time there are 309,800 people undergoing prophylactic medical examination in the republic including 67,400 children.

The program envisages the resettlement of people from the zone adjacent to Chernobyl AES and locating them in other regions, scientific back-up for finding solutions to problems connected with the normal life and work of people in the polluted regions, and a radical improvement in medical services. The draft pays great attenton to creating guaranteed conditions for safe work and proper leisure, providing the population with uncontaminated food products, the elaboration and introduction of technologies for conducting agricultural production and the processing industry in accordance with the demands which are dictated by the conditions of radioactive pollution.

The draft's authors consider it essential to provide full and systematic information to the population about the real state of the radioecological situation.

The draft program is being put forward for discussion by the public and the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session which opens on 15 February, after which it will be confirmed by the republic's government.

## New Guidelines Cover Chernobyl Victims' Treatment

*PM1402100390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 90 Single Edition p 7*

[Unattributed report: "In the Government Commission on the Elimination of Consequences from the Chernobyl AES Accident"]

[Text] In connection with appeals and proposals received from people directly involved in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] accident on questions concerning the medical services and social support provided for them, a government commission examined these questions at a routine visiting session in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in January of this year.

V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and some commission members visited the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences in Kiev, where they were familiarized with the work being carried out by scientists and experts to protect the health of people injured in the Chernobyl accident, and they met with physicians and with people involved in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident.

These questions were then examined in the town of Chernobyl with the participation of representatives from administrations and social organizations at the Chernobyl AES, the "Pripyat" science and production association, and the "Chernobyl" social organization, and leaders of interested ministries and departments.

The government commission instructed the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry, with the participation of the USSR Health Ministry, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the USSR Defense Ministry (USSR Civil Defense), as well as representatives of social organizations, to prepare and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers in the first quarter of this year, a draft USSR government decision on questions of medical services and social provision for people directly involved in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident, particularly those who contracted illnesses or who became invalids as a result of it.

The preparation of the above-mentioned draft decision is being supervised by the government commission.

## Moscow TV on Kishinev Mass Meeting

*LD1102220990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[From the 'Seven Days' program]

[Text] [Sergey Medvedev] Since early this morning the central streets of Kishinev have been closed to traffic. Cars have given way to people walking here to the center of the city to Victory Square. At noon precisely a republican meeting of voters began here. It was called at the initiative of the People's Front of Moldavia.

The Front invited to the meeting not only supporters, but also opponents, in the election campaign, representatives of the Yedinstvo Intermovement, the Gagauz Khalky movement, the Bulgarian Rebirth movement, and the work collective councils of Tiraspol. Today, two weeks prior to the voting, the struggle between them for the mandates of deputies has noticeable intensified. What is more, unfortunately, it is not always being conducted in a proper fashion, especially when national problems are touched on. More than enough of these have built up in the republic, but when emotions gain precedence over good sense, as has happened more than once here, then fists come into use. You will agree that this is far from the best way of convincing people one is right. In such a situation an appeal for consolidation and unity is more necessary than ever, and it is being heard on this square today. Although this is not the only slogan. Here are some others: "Down with the Mafia!" "We need a national Army!" "Down with bureaucracy!" "No swine in the republican parliament!" "Jews, Bulgarians, Gagauz, don't give into provocation!"

(Azun Antu) Vice chairman of the People's Front of Moldavia for Interethnic Relations. Just now, as we were coming here, people were shouting the slogan: "Moldavians unite!" How would you comment on this?

[Begin recording] [(Antu)] This cannot be seen as a political slogan. It is a reflection of the overall emotional mood and it can be seen as an appeal for the unification of Moldavians in the restoration of culture, traditions and historical truth. All in all, any political movement that is at all serious should today be based on the unification of all democratic political forces.

[Medvedev] I can see that you support sensible dialogue. But unfortunately, the events of the last few days and, indeed, weeks in Moldavia have shown that unfortunately this kind of dialogue frequently does not succeed. Instead, the outburst of emotions which, generally speaking, leads to no good, but rather to the storming of militia departments and so on.

[(Antu)] Well, you know, all in all these emotions and, all the more, their nature, cannot be attributed only to one nationality. This is an overall reflection of our level of political sophistication and our frequently oversimplified understanding of the essence of the problems facing us. A split along national lines means the end today. [end recording]

[Medvedev] A sensible thought, and it is one supported by all sober-minded people of the republic, in which public life is becoming actively more political. And what is important to note is that this is happening against a background of a lack of confidence in the Communist Party, which is now operating virtually in a multiparty system. You will agree, such a situation, sitting it out in one's office is like political death. Therefore, evidentally, virtually all party leaders of Moldavia are here on the square.

[Begin recording] [P.K.Luchinskiy first secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee] We have put forward the following appeal: Consolidate on the basis of the law. In our view, such an appeal is understandable and, on the whole, it is supported. Our program and our thoughts are directed, precisely toward finding how to solve efficiently those problems which have accumulated in Moldavia. And for this purpose, nine such working groups have been set up. We have talked about this at a party aktiv meeting, and they are now at work, functioning and are constantly informing people on how things are progressing.

[Medvedev] Of course, it was interesting today to listen to those invited to the meeting. Vladimir Anatoliyevich, is a common language being found?

[V.A. Solonar, member of Presidium of 'Yedinstvo' Intermovement] With the People's Front? I think that with the leaders of the People's Front, at least with many of them, one can find one easily. The problem lies not with them but with extremists who spoil the (?image) of the People's Front itself.

[Medvedev] Somehow there don't seem to be very many supporters of the Intermovement. At least they are not evident from the slogans.

[Solonar] You know this can be explained. After all, more than once it has been stated that there would be no excesses and so on, but then, after rallies unsanctioned processions have begun, and so on, and a great many people here in the city are scared. And I think...

[Medvedev, interrupting] And have not come here as a result?

[Solonar] I think so. I think that is the case, although it is dialogue that we need today more than anything else.

[Medvedev] As the saying goes, you do not get anywhere by standing still. The first steps toward one another have already been taken. Now we need to move on. [video shows long shots of large rally; close ups of people holding banners and flags with the colors blue, yellow and red, and chanting and singing; interviews with various participants; speakers on rostrum; Luchinskiy speaking, receiving bread and giving interview] [end recording]

## Party Secretary on 8 Feb Meetings With Gorbachev

*LD0802223290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT8 Feb 90*

[Excerpt] A detailed report on the meeting [Gorbachev's meeting with party secretaries discussed in referent item] will be published in the newspaper PRAVDA, but we are able to offer you already some first reactions to the meeting. Our correspondent Vladimir Korablev talks to one of those who attended the meeting, (Sergey Aleksandrovich Kalinin), secretary of the party committee at the Rybinsk engine-building production association in Yaroslavl Oblast.

[Begin recording] [Korablev] Sergey Aleksandrovich, please tell us which of the most important questions were touched on during the meeting?

[Kalinin] You know, it's probably easier to say what questions were not touched on today. There was a conversation about the difficulties of working in the localities in the party organizations of associations and enterprises, about the party budget, about the holding of the report-back and election campaign, and about the forthcoming 28th party congress. Our meeting lasted four hours. We went as far as the subtlety of party work, which Mikhail Sergeyevich possesses, I can say, in all aspects, and found truly realistic ways in this situation, in which there is a real demand for the renewal of our party.

Probably one of the most important questions is the question of glasnost in the work of the party's Central Committee. Communists in the localities want to know the whole actual truth about the work of the Central Committee, so that there should not arise a situation in which, although a resolution on glasnost was adopted at the 19th party conference, the December plenum of the

CPSU Central Committee was not published in our country. [sentence as heard]

And one of the main issues is feedback, so that rank-and-file communists—although rank-and-file is, perhaps, even an incorrect word for me to use—precisely communists can influence the affairs of the party itself. And here they bluntly asked that this should be stated in the platform so that communists in the localities, after reading it, should feel that, yes, real steps towards the democratization of inner party life are already being taken in our party. I, for example, am very satisfied with the plenum. It really is a major step in the development of inner party democracy. [passage omitted]

### Committee Formed To Found Russian Communist Party

*LD0902191290 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] Leningrad February 9 TASS—An initiative committee calling for the founding of a Russian Communist Party within the Soviet Communist Party has been formed in Leningrad. The committee involves secretaries of the party committees of several enterpises, grassroots party organisations and communist workers.

The committee discussed and adopted a declaration on preparations for a founding congress of the Russian Communist Party. It will be sent to the plenums of the CPSU regional committees of the Russian Federation.

The committee proposed to convene a congress in Leningrad late in April.

### Muscovites View Article 6, Multiparty System

*LD0802003990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2045 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[Text] At the plenum, matters concerning Article 6 of the Constitution and a multiparty system were discussed. This evening, our correspondent spoke with Muscovites on these topics. [video shows evening street scenes with a female reporter interviewing passersby]

[begin recording] [Woman] Well, I want to believe that positions in our party will change after all, and that progressive forces will be in the majority rather than is the case now, because, in the first place, it's offensive that the plenum was not broadcast and that journalists weren't allowed in, and in the second place it says that glasnost is only words in our country, and in fact we are clashing with other things. That demonstration which took place...I think it showed us and the Central Committee, and the plenum too, that the forces in favor of progress in our development are very great.

[Unidentified reporter to man] Do you think that a multiparty system can advance the cause of restructuring?

[Man] You see, that's such a matter for discussion. If our party proves capable of restructuring in the spirit...in the spirit of restructuring, that is, as outlined in the preamble, then there will be no need for a multiparty system.

[Reporter to second man] And what do you think with regard to the possibility of revoking Article 6 of the Constitution?

[Second man] I agree that this is not imposed by decisions...in fact, the party should fight for its vanguard role, not by clauses in the Consititution, but by activity.

[Reporter] And are you yourself a party member?

[Second man] Of course. I am a party verteran. I have been in the party for 52 years.

[Reporter to young man] How do you react to the possibility of revoking Article 6 of the Constitution?

[Young man] Positively.

[Reporter] And what is your attitude toward a multiparty system?
[Young man] Positive.
[Reporter] Are you yourself a party member?
[Young man] No.
[Reporter] And which party would you join?
[Young man] A party which first and foremost fulfilled its promises.
[Reporter] And do you believe in restructuring in the party?
[Young man] Yes.

[Reporter to elderly woman] Will the current plenum introduce any changes in your view?

[Elderly woman] Good God no, it won't introduce anything. That's what will happen. That's what will happen.

[Elderly man] [Words indistinct] should change.

[Reporter] And what changes do you expect?

[Elderly man] Which changes? Well, I think that the party should give up its positions in the direction of...that there should be...power should be transferred to the soviets. That's the main thing, I think. Because it cannot be that power lies both with the party and with the soviets.

[Reporter] Are you yourself in favor of a multiparty system?

[Elderly man] You know, it is very difficult for me to say what would be best, because we have never had this system. [end recording]

### Moscow Workers Rally in Support of Gdlyan

*LD1402204790 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Industrial and office workers in Zelenograd (a district of Moscow) walked out today to take part in a rally called by the so-called Committee for the Support of the USSR People's Deputy Gdlyan.

The authorised rally was in support of Telman Gdlyan, a senior investigator of cases of special importance at the USSR Procurator- General's Office. In the early 1980's he headed a group to investigate cases of corruption in the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Uzbekistan. An estimated 20,000 people gathered in the square outside the Zelenograd Palace of Culture.

The rally was addressed by candidates for people's deputies of the Russian Federation. The Zelenograd District Party Committee's First Secretary Yuriy Ilyin called on speakers to keep their assessments and pronouncements impartial and balanced.

The rally adopted a resolution summing up the results of the discussion and expressing support for People's Deputies Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov, a member of Gdlyan's investigation team. The rally also demanded the resignation of the Collegium of the USSR Procurator-General's Office and an end to the criminal case against the group of which Gdlyan and Ivanov were members.

The resolution also recorded the no-confidence vote regarding the commission of the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, whose passivity facilitates the failure of the corruption case.

The rally resolved that if the demands were not met, its participants were determined to press for their full satisfaction.

### Moscow Voters Group Pickets TASS Building

*LD0702160590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1519 GMT 7 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, 7 February, (TASS)—The picketing of the TASS building was carried out today on the initiative of the Moscow Voters' Association (MVA). The object of this act, its organizers explained, was in order to express disagreement with certain appraisals contained in a TASS report on the purpose of a march and rally which took place in Moscow last Sunday [4 February]. An estimated several dozen people took part in this act which lasted about two hours.

A meeting took place at the TASS building with representatives of the MVA who stated that the measure carried out on Sunday followed democratic purposes. It was noted during the conversation that certain speeches which were made and slogans voiced by some participants in the meeting in 50th Anniversary of October Square do not reflect the position of its organizers and the opinion of the majority of participants.

### TASS Reports Explosion at Donetsk Mine

*LD1502120190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1122 GMT 15 Feb 90*

[Text] Makeyevka, Donetsk Oblast, 15 Feb (TASS)—There was an explosion of a mixture of air and methane at 1900 local time yesterday at the K.I. Pochenkov mine of the 'Makeyevugol' production association at a depth of 915 meters while coal was being extracted. Thirteen people were killed. Ten miners were sent to the hospital with injuries of varying degrees of severity.

The directorate of the Donetsk District of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for the Technical Supervision of Mines has reported that the causes of the explosion are so far unknown. An inquiry has begun.

### Street Meetings Demand Politburo Resignation

*LD1402221190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Elin anchorman] Today the extended plenum of the Donetsk oblast party committee continued its work.

[Begin recording] [G. Kondaurov, correspondent] Would the politburo of the oblast party committee resign, or would it continue to remain at the head of the oblast party organization? Yevgeniy Vasiliyevich Mironov, second secretary, reported that during recent days, when there was a break in the work of the plenum, discussion of that issue continued in the party organizations in the localities. The Yenakiyevo city committee, the Kiyevskiy rayon committee in Donetsk, and several more party organizations advocated resignation. But generally the politburo experienced support, and decided to continue to work. A proportion of party officials judged the wave of meetings demanding resignation of the leadership of certain party committees as a desire to isolate the party before the elections, and to weaken its position. The secretaries and the communists of a number of primary party organizations, and particularly miners' party organizations, declared that it is already necessary to break down the outdated party structure and to eliminate certain rayon committees. And yet the main thing at the plenum, in my view, was the call for the consolidation of all who advocate genuine restructuring. [video shows a meeting, with a large audience, in progress; some people are shouting out remarks from the hall]

You, as first secretary of the Selidovo Party City Committee, and the Politburo in its full composition, resigned, although, as far as I know, there were no such demands voiced in your town, Why did this happen?

[V.A. Sergiyenko, captioned "former first secretary of Selidovo Party City Committee"] We came to the conclusion that people in our town want transformations, reforms, and an acceleration of the restructuring in the city. We reckoned that the very fact of resignation would evoke in party organizations the most genuine brasstacks party debate not only about the destiny of our town party organization, but also of the party as a whole.

[Kondaurov] The overwhelming majority of the participants in the party oblast committee voted against the resignation of the Politburo. And at the same time, a street meeting was taking place next to the building of the oblast committee. And I thought that it was a mistake that the participants in the plenum, with the exception of the oblast committee's second secretary, did not speak at it and did not explain to the people who stood here all day the motives for their decision. Street meetings with a demand for the resignation of the Politburo are taking place in other cities in the Donetsk coal mining area, too. [video shows large street meeting of thousands of people in progress; one demonstrator has a placard reading "obkom buro resign!"] [end recording]

[Elin] We naturally will follow events in Donetsk, and will continue to inform you how things unfold there.

## Sverdlovsk Obkom First Secretary Replaced

### 'Resignation' Offered

*LD1202225390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 12 Feb 90*

[Excerpts] Today in Sverdlovsk an extraordinary plenum of the party oblast committee was held. It examined an organizational question. [passage omitted]

Bobykin, first secretary of the party oblast committee, appraised the situation for principled party members and made a statement on his resignation, which was accepted.

The plenum adopted a decision on holding the oblast report-back and election party conference early.

### Secretary's Loss 'No Accident'

*90UN0891A Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Feb 90 p 3*

[Article by A. Dzhapakov: "They Demanded Dismissal"]

[Text] A few days ago there occurred an event that shook the entire central Urals and had everyone talking. Communists—workers and engineers, the many thousands of party organizations—gave a vote of no confidence to the oblast party committee [obkom] in special conferences. The first such forum took place at the "Uralmashzavod" factory, and then a wave of them rolled through the largest enterprises of Sverdlovsk and the oblast.

The event has many sides to it, and one must not of course evaluate it only as an instance of the dissatisfaction of communists toward the activities of the groups of leaders, nor is it an "internal" matter of the oblast party organization. The leadership of the obkom can no longer call the criticism directed against it "attacks on the party" as before because it has been condemned by those same people who make up its foundation—the ordinary communists in the local organizations.

The no confidence vote in the bureau, in essence a demand for its dismissal, directly affects the lives of all 4 million people living in the region because the bureau holds real power. The process of transferring that power to the soviets is still far from complete.

What compelled the conferences to introduce resolutions expressing no confidence?

When analyzing this one must remember that the dismissal of L. Bobykin and other obkom secretaries had already been proposed at an official tribunal. It was at the fourth plenum of the Sverdlovsk Gorkom [City Party Committee], which took place last summer. But when the noise quickly subsided afterward, the apparat managed to "add fuel to the fire" of the oblast's inter-apparat discussion.

And then similar demands were heard repeatedly at both sanctioned and spontaneous meetings. They were also heard at the loudest of them, the end-of-the-year meeting, about which TRUD informed its readers. Such a persistent repetition of one and the same idea before so many different audiences, in halls and in squares, cannot be accidental, just as the downfall of L. Bobykin in the elections for USSR people's deputies was no accident.

Perhaps it was not so much the individual people who discredited themselves as it was the outdated methods of administrative-command leadership, which the leadership of the oblast's party organization could not renounce. At conferences the bureau was criticized for secrecy in making decisions and for its isolation from the local party organizations, which had long ago lost any opportunity to influence the activity of the higher organs.

The obkom's style was inevitably repeated in the work of the soviet organs and of any leadership. It is no accident that the work of the oblast council of trade unions was sharply criticized in a number of speeches at the oblast's report-and-elections trade union conference. The delegates complained that the oblast's trade unions do not have any influence and that many organizations do not know what their leadership is doing. Several speakers proposed that the work of the oblast council of trade unions be rated "unsatisfactory." The proposal did not pass, but it was nonetheless noted in the conference's resolution that the oblast council of trade unions "is indecisively restructuring its work on the strengthening of its protective functions," and other shortcomings in its activities were noted.

When it came to the misfortunes of the residents of Sverdlovsk, the authorities were accustomed to blaming the central government for allotting too few funds and the other regions of the country for not providing them with deliveries. And there was obviously too little self-criticism or serious analysis of the situation. Under these circumstance there only seemed to be one way out of the emergency situation in which the region had long ago found itself—"press" Moscow a little harder, ask a little more, and wait until it was given to them.

Its own agricultural potential had not been utilized to its full extent. For example, the plan for the sale of potatoes to the state last year was only 81 percent fulfilled, and only 74 percent fulfilled for vegetables. And it was not only because of drought—there was no one to harvest the crops. Instead of looking for new forms of relations between the industrial enterprises and the village and strengthening and supporting them, the oblast leadership fought all summer and fall to compel the workers to leave their lathes and go into the fields. There was not a word about leasing, and there are only a very few peasant lease holders in the oblast.

Following the end-of-the-year meeting, the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk made an attempt to start a dialog with their leadership. A completely new phenomenon made its appearance in the social and political arena of the city—"Citizens' Forum." It was composed of candidates for Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and local soviets, the most varied informal organizations, workers, engineers, scholars, and cultural figures.

It is that same multifaceted, discordant, and motley movement that we call "society." "Forum" has taken on the task of designing resolutions to improve the situation in the city and the republic, introducing them into the appropriate organs, and working for their realization. But for the time being the dialogue is going poorly. The more the leadership of the city is shaken by the events of 29 December, the less willing it is to cooperate with "Forum."

On the other hand, "Forum" itself is not completely free of serious deficiencies and frequently goes about its work using the principles of the rally, as shown for instance by one of the resolutions it passed last Saturday. In it, "Citizens' Forum" announces its right to summon the collectives of Sverdlovsk to a political strike if the demands of the resolution (which do not contain much common sense, by the way) are not met.

But, despite all its drawbacks, "Forum" nonetheless embodies in many ways the opinion of the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk and is sincerely attempting to improve the situation. Several of the so-called problem groups which it created are functioning and actively seek work appropriate to the qualifications of the specialists who are enlisted in them. To scorn all this, to ignore the existence of such a broad citizens movement is hardly advisable.

The oblast's residents still do not know how the obkom bureau has reacted to the no confidence vote. The first secretary flew to Moscow for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the other members of the bureau remain silent. In the meantime it is known that a bureau meeting took place and that some kind of decision was made.

The situation in the city today can be described in four words: a crisis of power. The leadership's fund of trust, it seems, has been exhausted. But is it necessary to be frightened and suppress what is apparent to everyone? This process can only deepen the crisis, not lead to an exit. The way out lies elsewhere. It lies in an honest acknowledgement of the fact that the conferences which took place at the enterprises are not just a spontaneous, unforeseen outburst. They are the next stage in the legitimate process of the region's social and political development and of the process of the democratization of the party and of life in general. At their forums the communists spoke specifically about restructuring the party on a democratic basis and about the transition to genuine sovereignty of the people.

The authority of the party and of its leading organs will increase only by supporting the democratic movement and by taking concrete steps in that direction itself.

**Yesterday in Sverdlovsk there was a meeting of the leading communists of the party and economic organs. The situation which has arisen in the oblast and the oblast's party organization were discussed at the meeting. V. Manyukhin, second secretary of the CPSU obkom, reported that L. Bobykin, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, had sent in his resignation. An enlarged plenum of the obkom will take place in a few days, and at that time a vote will be taken, among others, to call a special oblast party conference.**

## Deputy Assumes Post

*PM1402143190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 12 Feb—An enlarged plenum of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom] was held today to consider an organizational matter. The plenum relieved L.F. Bobykin of the post of CPSU obkom first secretary at his own request.

At the plenum—and it was also attended by the first secretaries of city committees, rayon committees, and party committees with CPSU rayon committee status, representatives of public organizations and creative unions, and leaders of industrial enterprises in the oblast—there was a heated debate about the responsibility of CPSU obkom and bureau members for the tense social and political situation in the oblast and the deterioration of social conditions.

It was decided to give obkom second secretary V.M. Manyukhin the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom first secretary's job until the oblast report and election conference. The plenum decided to hold a two-stage report and election conference. Elections of delegates to it will take place in primary party organizations on a multiple-candidate basis by secret ballot. The plenum participants discussed recommendations on the selection of candidates for elected party organs.

Taking into account the opinions of primary party organizations in the oblast, the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom plenum also expressed its view on the timing of the report and election campaign in the CPSU.

V.S. Bondarchuk, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, participated in the plenum's work.

## Ufa Obkom Bureau Resigns After Criticism

*PM1402160090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Feb 90 First Edition p 2*

Accepted: Notes From the Extraordinary Bashkir CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee] Plenum"]

[Text] Ufa—The events that dominate life in the capital of Bashkiria today began to unfurl a week ago. A plenum of Ufa City Party Committee [gorkom] was held 2 February, at which the first item on the agenda was the question of improving interethnic relations. But that is only natural: The city has a complex ethnic structure, and therefore the comprehensive targeted program that was presented for the attention of plenum participants, with F.A. Gaysin, secretary of the CPSU gorkom, and D.M. Gilyazetdinov, professor at the Bashkir State University, delivering reports on its main provisions, was received with interest and assessed as a major step toward the scientific interpretation of the problem.

However, the nationalities aspect seemed to lose its urgency for the plenum after the delivery of a report by R.R. Gareyev, first secretary of Ufa CPSU Gorkom. The increasing activeness in society, especially now, in the preelection period, the first secretary noted, requires the resolution of many problems of a sociopolitical, economic, and ideological nature. At meetings with working people, the report went on to say, questions relating to the activity of the oblast party organization leadership are often raised. The city's inhabitants are annoyed by the lack of contact with CPSU obkom [oblast committee] secretaries and the leaders' extremely low level of attention to their needs. Passions are seething, people's irritation and dissatisfaction is growing, but the appropriate measures are not being taken...

The report contained sharp criticism of the obkom, its bureau, and First Secretary R.Kh. Khabibullin for their adherence to old, obsolete work methods and reluctance, or perhaps inability, to restructure themselves. Mention was also made of the fact that the lack of a firm line and an integrated policy of renewal in the main spheres of life, the repetition of past errors, and the lack of constructive proposals and decisions by the obkom secretaries and apparatus have created a zone of alienation and disunity of action between the obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms [rayon committees]. The autonomous republic is seriously behind with the introduction of territorial economic accountability, and the ecology program is being implemented too slowly, a state of affairs which is promoted by the policy of nonintervention in questions of the construction of the Ishtuganovskoye Reservoir and the Bashkir Nuclear Power Station. It was proposed that the party obkom bureau convene an extraordinary obkom plenum for the following week.

During the discussion of the report the plenum participants showed great activeness—23 people spoke. They all supported R.R. Gareyev's proposals. There was only one speech against—from A.P. Zhityayev, chief of the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department and candidate member of the obkom bureau, who considered it unethical to "conduct a trial of the obkom bureau in the absence of the other side." However, the obkom representative's protestations did not meet with support.

The gorkom plenum adopted a resolution: to approve the conclusions set forth in R.R. Gareyev's report, support his position, and express no confidence in the CPSU obkom bureau as regards its methods of leadership of perestroyka processes. The plenum participants demanded the convocation of a joint plenum of the Ufa Party Gorkom and Bashkir Party Obkom to examine urgent matters.

The gorkom plenum's decision caused a stir among the republic's entire party aktiv. At enterprises, higher educational establishments, and scientific institutes party meetings were held at which the communists, in the main, supported the gorkom plenum's initiative. At the same time a number of the biggest party organizations adopted a decision demanding the resignation of the gorkom bureau too. This measure was considered logical and fair, since the gorkom is headed by obkom bureau member Gareyev. The local press published the full text of the city plenum materials.

Incidentally, in this situation broad glasnost proved very necessary in order to dispel all kinds of misunderstandings and rumors that surrounded the gorkom's initiative.

In fact, the departure of the obkom bureau was already predetermined before the extraordinary obkom plenum that was announced for 10 February. Beforehand, the members and candidate members of the CPSU obkom bureau issued a statement to the republic's communists through the press. It says: "Recognizing that there are serious shortcomings in the work of the obkom bureau as regards perestroyka processes, with a view to creating the conditions for rallying the communists and all working people of the republic, we have decided to ask the forthcoming obkom plenum to accept our collective resignation."

And on 10 February the party obkom plenum began in Ufa; members of Ufa CPSU Gorkom and representatives of the city's social organizations were also invited.

At the plenum, R.R. Gareyev delivered a report on the city plenum's decision. The floor was then given to

CPSU Obkom First Secretary R. Kh. Khabibullin. After noting some positive features in the obkom's leadership of the republic's socioeconomic life, the first secretary admitted that he himself and the bureau members had failed to mobilize the party organizations and working people to eradicate stagnation phenomena in the economy. At the same time, he observed, the accusations made against him by the gorkom contain contradictory elements. On the one hand, it says that the first secretary abuses the methods of pressure and diktat, and on the other there is criticism of the fact that not a single party penalty for economic failures has been announced at the bureau. Or else, on the one hand, it is claimed that R.Kh. Khabibullin uses the old methods of tackling economic issues, and on the other, that he does not tackle them in a practical way. What lies behind this inconsistency is the blurring of our criteria for assessing party leadership of the economy, the first secretary noted—the tenacity of economic bias in party work, which neither I nor other bureau members have succeeded in escaping.

Discussing the Ufa Gorkom report, the plenum participants approved it as a bold initiative and assessed it as a reflection of the decisive and refreshing changes that are taking place in the country and the party. At the same time they tried to uncover more fully the reason why the obkom bureau failed to become a collective leader, an effective headquarters of the oblast party organization, and why, less than three years after taking office, the present obkom is having to go back to where it began in summer 1987. The aktiv sees the reason for the present crisis first and foremost in the tenacity of the old methods of cadre selection.

"The obkom bureau failed dramatically," R.R. Mavlyutov, rector of the Ufa Aviation Institute, said, "because it was formed on instructions from above, without taking account of the opinion of the republic's party masses. We all know that the obkom leadership works hard and does not spare itself. But given the pressure of work, the obkom bureau has proved incapable of formulating the most important tasks facing it and ranking them in order of importance."

"Ravmer Khasanovich, it was not our wish or our fault that you came to our obkom in the times of stagnation," Khakimov, secretary of the party committee at the Sterlitamak Synthetic Rubber Plant, said to Khabibullin, continuing this same thought. "It was the fault of the higher-ranking party organ. And here you were not helped to become a party leader. Set an example by showing that if things do not work out for someone, that person leaves party work; let this be your way of helping the party organization. And in order to ensure that after this plenum things change for the better, I propose as a condition that the obkom bureau not be formed on the basis of the nomenklatura principle. Why, for instance, has only one place been found for a working-class person in the present obkom bureau? Why are there no scientists, teachers, physicians, writers, or representatives of other sections of the public?"

"The future obkom first secretary must be sought without fail among first secretaries of rural party raykoms, because that is the largest detachment of the party aktiv, and, secondly, the agro-industrial complex accounts for a large share of the region's economy," A.G. Galimov, first secretary of Yermekeyevskiy CPSU Raykom, proposed.

A reasonable objection was raised to this by D.M. Kuvatov, general director of the "Bashkirkhleboprodukt" Association:

"That means applying the notorious production principle to the selection of party cadres. The first secretary, I venture to object, should not be a 'rural' or a 'city' man. He should be an individual capable of leading the republic party organization."

It must be said that the obkom members were understanding and, I would say, even quite tactful about the unhappy end to the brief party career of R.Kh. Khabibullin, paying due tribute to his democratic personal qualities. They noted his sensitivity, openness, and trustfulness. However, in the view of some of the plenum participants, he was not surrounded by a collective of like-minded people, a party fellowship, and some bureau members cut themselves off from him. As R.Kh. Khabibullin himself acknowledged and as others noted, he did not have enough experience of party and political work, and it was too late, indeed impossible, to acquire it as he went along. Because in such crucial, complex times, when even experienced party leaders are losing their way, when the best trained political leaders are finding it hard to choose the best possible style, and when the party is inwardly seething and subjected to blows from all directions, it was really difficult for him, an oilman by trade, to find the right decisions. It was because of his lack of political experience that Khabibullin sometimes showed "firmness" where it was not required. For instance, on the question of glasnost. There proved to be a substantial difference between the reports delivered by R.R. Gareyev at the gorkom plenum and the obkom plenum. On the second reading there proved to be no room for the paragraphs concerning the banning techniques by which the obkom bureau and its first secretary led the mass media and exerted constant pressure on them. Is not that why the local newspapers, sensing that the present republic party leadership's days were numbered and experiencing a foretaste of freedom from the fetters of diktat from above, were unprecedentedly energetic in their support for the vote of no confidence in the obkom leadership?

...The plenum adopted a decision to meet the request for collective resignation of the members of the CPSU obkom bureau, and elected by secret ballot, from among rival candidates, a provisional bureau which will lead the oblast party organization until the convocation of an extraordinary party conference.

V.S. Bondarchuk, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the plenum.

### Ufa Plenum Demands Bashkir Obkom Resignations

*LD0602202190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Feb 90*

[Text] We have already reported that there was a plenum of the party gorkom in Ufa. Its participants unanimously expressed no confidence in the CPSU Bashkir Obkom Bureau. This concerned the methods of managing the restructuring processes. The plenum demanded the Bureau's resignation and an urgent convocation of an emergency joint plenum of the Bashkir Obkom and the Ufa party gorkom.

We received another report from our correspondent (Madril Gafurov). There was a sitting of the party obkom bureau at which the half-hearted decision was made to hold a CPSU obkom plenum on 10 February. The council of secretaries of primary party organizations of the Ufa Motor Construction Association invited to its sitting Comrade Krevikov, obkom second secretary and Comrade Goriyev, first secretary of the Ufa party gorkom and demanded the bureau obkom review its decision.

### Ufa City Communists Oust Oblast Leaders

*PM0902152990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Aleksandr Zinovyev dispatch: "No Confidence Expressed in the Obkom Bureau"]

[Text] Ufa—For a few days now, the inhabitants of Ufa, and with them the inhabitants of the [Bashkir] autonomous republic, have been living in a state of intense expectation.

This is because the Ufa Gorkom [city party committee] plenum unanimously expressed no confidence in the CPSU Bashkir Oblast Committee and its methods of carrying out restructuring processes and demanded its resignation as well as the convocation 10 February of a joint city and oblast party committee plenum.

As R. Gareyev, first secretary of Ufa Gorkom, and other participants in the plenum (a total of 25 people made speeches) noted, the work of the party obkom [oblast party committee] Bureau and R. Khabibullin, its first secretary, is characterized by adherence to old and outdated methods of work: diktat, intolerance of criticism, and interference in economic affairs. Alienation and separation arose in activity between the obkom and the party gorkoms and raykoms [rayon party committees]; hence the loss of initiative in the party committees, the lag in implementing a territorial economic settlement, the slow implementation of the environmental program, and the exacerbation of the food situation.

The decisions by the Ufa CPSU Gorkom's plenum caused a stir in the labor collective party organizations and among people in the city and the republic. This decision was supported at many party meetings. The Bashkir All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Obkom supported it. Resolutions of no confidence in the CPSU Obkom Bureau were adopted at meetings of social organizations such as the Bashkir Association for the Electorate and the Deputies, the Society for Nature Protection, and the Tatar Social Center.

A full transcript of the CPSU Gorkom plenum, published in VECHERNYAYA UFA, was reprinted in the republic's party newspapers. The city newspaper is now publishing in its columns transcripts and letters from leaders who approve of the party gorkom's decision.

Among others, F. Nigmatullin, member of the CPSU and a candidate for Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy, writes: "The decision of the CPSU Gorkom plenum must be considered as unconditionally correct and timely. I fully agree with the judgments of the party obkom's inactivity... It would be desirable if the decision did not resemble a palace revolution, when one group of leaders replaces another but does not change the essence of power or the methods of operation."

The CPSU Obkom Bureau discussed the Ufa Gorkom plenum's resolution and recognized the need to convene an extraordinary obkom plenum 10 February.

As I was told at the CPSU Obkom, R. Khabibullin accepted the decision to resign "on health grounds" and announced it at the conference of CPSU gorkom and raykom first secretaries.

### Murmansk Obkom Secretary Withdraws Candidacy

*PM1402144190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report under the "Situation" rubric: "Crisis of Confidence"]

[Text] Murmansk—Each one of the remaining 12 contenders for the mandate of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy from Kolskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No. 511 now has a considerably better chance of being elected to Russia's parliament. The point is that Ye. Komarov, secretary of Murmansk party obkom [oblast committee], who looked the most likely winner of the election struggle, has withdrawn his candidacy.

In a statement published by the local newspaper, Ye. Komarov attributes his decision to withdraw from the contest to his desire to concentrate his efforts on party work. But this is not quite true. The obkom secretary was actually forced to "resign" by his apparatus colleagues. An explanation is needed to understand what happened.

The present situation in the oblast is such that it is in fact without a leader. Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] Chairman Yu. Balashkin was relieved of his duties a few days ago in connection with transfer to other work. A. Balagurov, first secretary of the party obkom, openly announced his intention to resign. At the same time, three of the remaining four CPSU obkom secretaries and two of the three currently remaining oblispolkom deputy chairmen are standing for election as RSFSR people's deputies. They have been carried away by the election struggle to such an extent that they simply have no time left to do their main jobs.

In this situation, a group of city and rayon party committee secretaries together with apparatus officials demanded that the oblast leaders to make a choice: Either to continue the contest for a deputy's mandate or to get down to their main work. Komarov gave up without a fight. The other oblast leaders decided not to miss the chance of becoming Russian parliamentarians.

## Volgograd Obkom Holds Expanded Plenum

*PM1402124990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "On Paths of Democratization"]

[Text] Volgograd—An expanded plenum of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom [oblast committee] has been held to discuss questions the convening of an oblast party conference, the procedure for electing its delegates, and recommendations for forming the party obkom's elected organs. Many of the oblast's inhabitants took part in the plenum's preparation. Hundreds of their proposals for the democratization of party life reached the CPSU Obkom provisional bureau and the editorial offices of the local newspapers and radio and television.

The plenum demonstrated its desire to resolve questions with a consideration for the opinion of Communists and labor collectives by the fact that it invited representatives of the primary organizations and party raykoms [rayon committees] and gorkoms [city committees] to take part in its work.

After a keen discussion the plenum adopted the decision to hold the oblast report and election conference in two stages.

For the first time delegates to the oblast conference will be elected by secret ballot on an alternative basis at the primary party organizations themselves. And where the communists' numerical strength is less than the established norm for representation, they can on a voluntary basis, at their own initiative, unite to hold meetings and conferences within the boundaries of their own rayon or city.

The plenum adopted the conference's recommendations for forming the party obkom's elected organs on a broad democratic basis: The nomination of candidacies will proceed according to the quota in the primary party organizations. Their proposals are also considered in electing the party obkom first secretary, the candidacies for which post are already being discussed in many of the oblast's labor collectives.

## Further on Volgograd Obkom Situation

*90UN0802A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by Yu. Shcherbinin: "Ongoing Discussion"]

[Text] **Members of the bureau of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee] have been clarifying their relations for three days. Behind tightly closed doors and in the presence of the gorkoms [city party committees] and raykoms [rayon party committees]. And finally at an expanded plenum of the oblast committee whose proceedings were watched by hundreds of thousands of television viewers.**

Many party organizations and the public have raised the question point blank: retirement of the first secretary and the entire CPSU Obkom Bureau. In a local newspaper V. I. Kalashnikov responded to the article entitled "Pretender" in the magazine OGONEK. One felt that it was prepared in a hurry and, in the words of a member of the CPSU obkom, USSR People's Deputy B.I. Stepo, the truth of life lies somewhere in the middle—between the article and the response.

Party committee plenums, meetings of local party organizations, public rallies, and addresses of delegates of the oblast Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and communists of the oblast basically amounted to the need for a political solution to the situation that has arisen.

The first secretary of the obkom made a courageous but still questionable (at precisely this moment) decision—he submitted an application to retire in order to go on pension. It is questionable because during the past three tense days it has become clear: The bureau is split.

Therefore when he "first" announced his decision, many of his associates breathed a sigh of relief: The threat hanging over their heads had been removed. They thought the first secretary's retirement would appease public opinion.

I understand the feelings of one of the plenum's participants when before voting on confidence in the bureau members, almost in tears, she asked: "Include the name Kalashnikov on the list for voting." At the long table of the presidium there was no leader to whom they could entrust the leadership of the oblast party organization. And the numerous statements of participants in the plenum and several bureau members amounted to one thing—all of the oblast party staff had to submit their resignations.

In Volgograd Oblast, people now frequently recall the article "Illusion of Acceleration" published in PRAVDA in 1985. How fervently and unreservedly the plenum of the obkom at that time called it prejudices and said that it distorted the true state of affairs in the oblast's agriculture.

It must be admitted that at that time not everyone shared this viewpoint, especially those in the corridors. Subsequently we had occasion to hear the opinions of specialists, peasants, and leaders to the effect that much in the PRAVDA article had been correct.

This is a thing of the past. I think the only thing for which the editors can reproach themselves is that they should not have remained silent about the fact that V.I. Kalashnikov had only been working in the oblast for about two years at that time.

To a certain degree one can understand the obkom members who were charged with the defense of the leader: There actually had been acceleration. It was not so much that he tried to convince us it was, but it was still appreciable. And this is natural since the former secretary who had been in charge for a period of almost 20 years was being replaced by a new leader—one who was demanding and a go-getter.

I recall that the party leadership was replaced in 1984. Perestroyka was not yet under way. From the post of republic minister, V.I. Kalashnikov was sent to the oblast whose economic development was bogging down. Even now he frequently recalls the farewell speech with which he left for Volgograd: The success of agriculture lies in irrigation. The point of reference was Saratov Oblast.

Who could question the reasonableness of this approach? Irrigation is necessary. But the problem on the local steppes was salinization. The problem of the land reclamation workers was work of poor quality.

The new leader received powerful support—the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree on further development of agriculture in Volgograd Oblast. An additional infusion of several billion rubles in keeping with this decree inspired bright hopes. The point of reference, the support, the directive, and the money—everything was there. To work, comrades! But it was not such simple work, and it was not so simple to solve such a huge problem—no less than 50,000 hectares of irrigated land a year.

The hypnosis of figures is more dangerous than the experiments of any psychotherapists. As in a decisive battle, nothing and nobody is spared. What we need are not people who think alike but people to take action. Therefore, a shakeup of personnel is inevitable. And this was done.

In the article "Illusion of Acceleration" an attempt was made to quiet the fanfare, to look at the situation more realistically and critically, and to warn against excessive self-congratulation. Of course for the first time in many long years there were certain changes for the better in the development of agriculture. But the most courageous and independent leaders and specialists were also sounding the alarm about the destructive influence of the large-scale land reclamation assault. And they ended up alone and sometimes they were the odd man out.

Moreover the members of the obkom bureaus, the secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms, and the new agricultural leaders were selected according to their belief in land reclamation.

The most typical example was the promotion of V.M. Balandin to the position of second secretary of the CPSU obkom.

It was perestroyka. The year was 1986. They began talking about political methods of leadership. Few people understood what it was or how it was carried out. But it was clear that the party should not be in charge of economic affairs. It was necessary to reinforce the political functions of the organizer. And suddenly the director of a tractor plant became the second secretary. Perhaps he was a strong organizer? By no means. Even after his enterprise had been in existence for several years it could not get on its feet. Was this a person who had a flair for modern politics and the new thinking? No, this was a case of failure to accept the demands of perestroyka or the style and methods of leadership; this was an example of the inertia of thinking of the inveterate manager.

Thus bureau meetings led by Balandin became a trial for everyone. Trying to appear modern, he could speak seriously about "ideologization of the chemicalization of agriculture" or "politicization of the gasification of rural areas."

How did he win such confidence from V.I. Kalashnikov?

One time we were saying: He himself was strong but he had a weak team. How did that happen? We should not try too hard to second-guess people: Parkinson's law explains everything—the chief should not have deputies who are smarter than he is. And Balandin, as "head personnel officer" in the oblast, observed that same law. Even in December of 1988 he and the first secretary managed to form the obkom bureau in the spirit of the most stagnant time: five secretaries and organizers, the chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] and his first deputy, the trade union and Komsomol leaders, the first secretary of the gorkom, the editor of the newspaper, the chairmen of the party commissions and the people's control committee, the chief of the KGB administration, two economic leaders, and a worker.

The neighbors in Astrakhan oblast when forming their bureau refused to make promotions according to the nomenklatura principle. They elected the rector of a conservatory and a writer.

"Intelligentsia?"—then Kalashnikov was surprised. They do not count.

V.I. Kalashnikov made one of his major mistakes by taking this attitude toward the intelligentsia. Now to mention his assistants. Nobody could break through his dogmatic scorn for the intellectual forces of the society. For only at the last moment did a rural teacher end up as a representative from the oblast at the 19th All-Union Party Conference...

The people remembered this during the election campaign. But still through the efforts of the apparatus in Krasnoarmeysk Precinct No. 138, there ended up being only one candidate for first secretary of the CPSU obkom. But he got 54 percent of the votes. Many choose his name simply because it was the only one on the ballot.

"Yes, they should have gone to alternative elections," Vladimir Ilich admitted later. But at the time he only listened to the advice of those closest to him.

This is something to think about. We should listen to what people have to say. We should consult with them. But office consultants have had their say. The result? The oblast lost a seat in parliament. Our friends consoled us: It was a trick of the extremists against the first secretaries of the obkoms. As though there were no difficult choices or criticism in the central press for devotion to the Volga-Don-2 canal and the obstruction of the Volga area development with respect to the Germans.

A worker from the Volga Turbine Plant, V. Kalgin (who subsequently became a USSR people's deputy), shared with PRAVDA his thoughts about the restructuring of the oblast party organization and bureau. He made fundamental suggestions. The worker received letters from all over the union. And the Volgograd party leadership ignored his concerns.

During all my years in journalism I have never encountered such a negative reaction to criticism in the press as I did in the Volgograd Obkom. Recently, true, ostracism has been replaced by another tactic—not noticing. A famous phrase of Kalashnikov: "When the dog barks—the caravan moves." He said this once with respect to the press and it did not add to his authority. But his associates breathed a sigh of relief. Several serious conflicts have occurred between party committees and editors of rayon newspapers. The journalists needed support. The obkom should have shown party understanding and suggested to the obkom how to work with the news reporter during the perestroyka periods. They did not help. The organ of the obkom and oblispolkom, VOLGOGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, was more and more frequently criticized by communists and the newspaper is called the "obkom chronicle."

But still there is opposition to the style of work of the obkom and its bureau. Opposition, of course, makes much noise. Nonetheless there have been people who have expressed doubts and who evaluate the social situation more realistically. From the podium of the oblast party conference the first secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom, A. Anipkin, stated:

"During the three years in the report there has not been a single case when at a plenum of the obkom the draft decrees prepared by the apparatus have been thoroughly worked through, although remarks of fundamental importance have been made concerning them. And at bureau meetings there have been practically no decisions that differ from the opinion of 'first'...

"The people have not demanded refrigerators or imported wines. They say: Live as we do, without special hospitals and state-provided dachas, provide free access to the obkom, and return the dormitory to the students at the medical institute."

After his unsuccessful nomination to the position of first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, V.I. Kalashnikov cooled toward his work somewhat. They were expecting that he would apply for retirement. But Balandin's men again started whispering about "dark forces and intrigues in the press." But at a meeting with the voters in Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon in Volgograd it was stated:

"Vladimir Ilich, we voted for you. But during the past half year you have not been doing the work of the oblast; instead you have been fixing up your dacha in Moscow."

It is cruel, but what can you do. Such is our psychology. We give noble features to a leader who is sympathetic to us and with the same enthusiasm we ascribe to him all the sins as soon as he loses his authority. But such is the fate of the leader in the command-administrative system.

So today the first secretary of the obkom is to blame for everything. But I shall say once again: His problem is mainly that he surrounded himself with obedient and short-sighted people.

The participants in the last plenum dispersed with such a dispirited look: They had involuntarily been witnesses to the investigation of cases of abuse of apartments by four secretaries of the CPSU obkom. One of them even had the foresight to take care of these unpleasant things before the plenum. But that same V. Balandin, who unjustifiably improved the living conditions not only for himself but also for his daughter's family, again blamed those same "dark forces."

When voting on confidence in the members of the obkom bureau, only 19 of the 140 members supported it. Having adopted a decree which says: "In the existing sociopolitical situation, with the development of democratic processes, glasnost, and the moral purging of the party, the bureau of the CPSU obkom is indecisive and unable to master the situation and direct the efforts of the party organizations, the labor collectives, and the entire population for solving the problems of perestroyka"—the plenum still failed to replace two-thirds of the members. A. Anipkin, whom the conservative part of the members saw as a potential leader, ended up in disgrace.

When the material was prepared for the press the Volgograd newspapers published the appeal of the CPSU obkom bureau to communists and all workers of the city and oblast. To some extent it can be called a "letter of confession" since it says: "We shall be frank, the plenum did not leave many communists, or the bureau of the CPSU obkom either, with a deep feeling of satisfaction. At the plenum there was indifference, fear of being too harsh in evaluating the political situation, there were chauvinistic attacks, and there was a prevalence of emotions which had a negative effect during the voting on the confidence in the leaders of the Volgograd City party and oblast Komsomol organization. We think that all this undermines the unity of the party and Komsomol ranks and at the next plenum we intend to return to he question of the representation of these leaders in the obkom bureau."

An unexpected turn—the CPSU obkom bureau's lack of confidence in the plenum decision. Having considered the crucial sociopolitical situation in the oblast, yesterday at its meeting the bureau made a decision to hold a plenum of the CPSU obkom on 30 January. At it we shall discuss the question of convening an extraordinary oblast party conference and the retirement of the bureau members. In a word, the discussion is not over.

### Many Komi Leaders To Run for Election Unopposed

*PM1202154990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 90 p 1*

[A. Rastorguyev report: "In Bitter Isolation"]

[Text] Of the 180 districts for the election of Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet people's deputies, 25 are single-candidate. Representatives of the top level of the republic's party-state apparatus are running in 14 of these. Yu.A. Spiridonov, first secretary of the Komi CPSU Obkom [oblast committee], can clearly be placed at the head of the list of them. Party Obkom Second Secretary V.S. Osipov and V.I. Khudyayev, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, are also "shadow-boxing." And all three have rural districts.

Against this background the decision of Yu.I. Semukov, chairman of the Komi ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to battle against seven rivals in a district in the republic's capital looks almost like a heroic exploit.

### Karaganda Miners Committee Renews Strike Status

*LD0902184190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Feb 90*

[Text] A report from Karaganda: The oblast mineworkers' committee has renewed its right to be a strike committee. The reason is the unsatisfactory implementation of the protocol of agreed measures between the government commission and the strike committee.

A meeting with the government commission is scheduled within the next few days.

### Khabarovsk TV, Telecommunications Improved

*LD1202124590 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Dec 89*

[Summary] A cable relay line linking Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk has been handed over to the state commission. It has increased the capacity of interurban telephone communications and improved the reception quality of kray television in settlements around Komsomolsk and the eastern Baykal-Amur Mainline.

More than 270 villages and settlements have been electrified this year by the Vostoksilelektroselstroy trust. About 2,200 km of line have been laid in five oblasts and krays in the east.

### Kaluga Obkom Official Withdraws From Elections

*LD1102145790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[Unnamed TASS correspondent's report from Kaluga]

[Text] Ulanov, first secretary of the [Kaluga] Oblast Party Committee, has handed in a statement to the constituency election commission for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputy elections in Sukhinichi territorial election constituency No. 423. Pointing to his decision to retire with an old-age pension, and because of his state of health, he asks that his name be removed from the candidate list for the RSFSR people's deputy elections.

At the plenum of a number of rayon party committees held before the CPSU Central Committee plenum, and in the press, Ulanov and the party obkom bureau he heads were criticized for the stance taken by the party and local soviet leaders in the oblast and rayons on the election campaign. They were the only candidates in 30 of the 150 constituencies for the elections to the oblast Soviet of people's deputies.

### Saratov Soviet Splits Planned Election Meeting

*PM1202141990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Valentina Nikolayeva report under the rubric "Direct Line. IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Don't Assemble on the Square!.."]

[Text] Saratov—Members of the Saratov seminar club of candidate people's deputies of various levels decided to hold a mass meeting with voters 11 February on the city's main square. The city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] was sent notification signed by 77 candidate deputies in accordance with the laws on elections of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and local soviet people's deputies.

What motivated the candidates? Voters' political activeness has declined in the city and the oblast. Elections will not be contested in many okrugs. Thus, 45 percent and 58 percent of candidates have been registered unopposed at Saratov City Soviet and the oblast soviet respectively. Most of them are party, soviet, and leadership personnel. The percentage of unopposed candidates for the republic's parliament is also high.

"The aim of the mass meeting is to strengthen ties between the voters and the candidates," V. Davydov, candidate for RSFSR people's deputy and director of the Saratov subsidiary of the Statistical Information All-Union Scientific Research and Design Institute, said. "The club proposed to inform voters of its general platform. They also wanted to hear from voters."

After a long debate with the candidates the gorispolkom decided to ban the meeting on the square. Instead a building was set aside in each of the city's six rayons where voters could meet 11 February. This was announced on Thursday evening on television by V. Agapov, chairman of the gorispolkom.

But the city had been looking forward to the meeting. Now there is nothing but talk about the ban—on the streets, in workshops, and at institutes.

Some townspeople, as the telephone calls to our office illustrate, intend nonetheless to go to the square on Sunday.

Saturday's issue of the Saratov Oblast KOMMUNIST published a letter from the seminar club of candidate people's deputies' action group asking voters to "change their minds and meet at the following addresses in the city's rayons at 1400 hours 11 February and not on Revolution Square..."

V. Davydov commented on the appearance of this letter, saying that the club members undersigned had been warned of their responsibility in the event of their participation in the meeting banned by the gorispolkom.

"What could we do?" he said. "We decided to gather people in the—albeit not particularly spacious—premises allocated by the gorispolkom and explain to voters at the same time why the meeting on the square was not taking place. Moreover, 'urgent' (!) repair work has begun and fencing has appeared on the square."

## Magadan Political Journal Renamed

*LD1302115690 Magadan Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 3 Feb 90*

[Summary] The magazine POLITICHESKAYA AGITATSIYA is coming out this year under the new title POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK.

Valentina Ivanovna Sviridova, head of Magadan Soyuzpechat, outlines the reading habits of Magadan inhabitants. This year, she says, subscriptions have gone up by 3.3 percent The total run of papers and magazines is 1,695,100, and there are 3,122 copies per thousand inhabitants, slightly more than in 1989. LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA has gone up from 92 to 5,500. Subscriptions to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, ROMAN GAZETA, and DRUZHBA NARODOY have gone down.

As for local papers, MAGADANSKAYA PRAVDA is printed in a run of more than 65,000, which is more than MAGADANSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, though the latter is growing in popularity, increasing from just over 5,000 last year to 12,000 this year.

## Baklanov Visits Kirov Oblast 12-14 Feb

*LD1402232690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] The draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee toward the upcoming party congress, which was approved by the February plenum, has become a new beginning in the political life of Soviet society. The communists and all working people of the country see it as a reliable basis for consolidation of all restructuring forces.

Meetings which Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in Kirov Oblast 12-14 February, had with the working people and communists were convincing evidence of it. The focus of attention were the results of the plenum and issues that the party, which has embarked upon a self-renewal, will have to resolve by itself.

In his speech at the oblast party economic aktiv, Comrade Baklanov stressed that the ideas contained in the platform were prompted by life itself and that is why they reflect the vital interests of the party and the country.

## Ulyanovsk Rally Demands Officials' Resignation

*LD1102144190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 11 Feb 90*

[Report by unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Ulyanovsk (middle reaches of Volga) 11 Feb (TASS)—Communists and nonparty members—participants in an all-city rally in which many thousands of people took part and which was held today at the "Lenin Komsomol" central stadium—expressed their mistrust of all members of the Bureau of the CPSU oblast committee. A resolution adopted contains a call for people to work toward their resignation, and the organization of early elections to party bodies according to the new formula—on a multicandidate basis by direct secret ballot in party constituencies of all the oblast communists, with definite participation of nonparty members at the stage of nomination and discussion of candidacies at primary organizations.

The speakers, citing specific facts, stressed in particular: The first and second secretaries of the oblast party committee have seriously compromised themselves. Their actions are discrediting the party and rendering poor assistance to perestroyka. It was also pointed out that the oblast and city procuracies, the oblast court, and the ULYANOVSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office are also unsatisfactory.

## Former Uzbek Official Sentenced to Labor Colony

*LD1402160890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1339 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (TASS correspondent—Ten year's deprivation of liberty; with detention in an intensified corrective labor colony, and confiscation of property. This was the sentence passed today by the judicial college on criminal affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the case of Ye. Aytmuratov, former chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and former secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. He was found guilty of receiving bribes worth 49,000 rubles.

It was established by the court that in the period 1970-1984, Aytmuratov, using his responsible position for personal ends, several times received bribes from his subordinates in the service and also from heads of various Soviet and party bodies and other officials of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic in exchange for help, patronage, and support in their work. Receiving of bribes worth 80,500 rubles from 17 persons was imputed to Aytmuratov by the preliminary investigation bodies; but the court dropped from the charge 12 instances of taking bribes by Aytmuratov from several persons as unproven.

## Baltic Merchant Fleet To End 'Commissar' System

*LD0802125690 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 8 Feb 90*

[Text] Leningrad February 8 TASS—In an effort to boost efficiency the Baltic merchant authorities have decided to fire all "commissars" from its vessels.

More than 200 party appratchiks working as first mates wil go ashore. After retraining they will return to their previous jobs as ships mechanics, electricians and navigators. Others, who hold political diplomas, will get jobs on land.

"The dismantling of the 'Institute of Commissars' on ships is just one example of personnel reforms in the Soviet Communist Party," Baltic Shipping Company party leader Vyacheslav Trusov told TASS.

"An opinion poll conducted among sailors revealed that 'commissars' enjoyed little popularity among seamen. Sailors often dubbed them 'vessel bureaucrat' saying they were more concerned with meetings, rallies and paperwork than with people."

The Soviet merchant fleet has about 1,700 vessels. Annually, ships carrying Soviet flags make more than 30,000 voyages abroad, calling on 120 countries.

## Envoy to France Notes One-Party System

*PM0802082890 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Feb 90 p 4*

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Shulgin, first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Paris, by LE CHOC DU MOIS, "an extreme right-wing monthly"; date and place not given]

[Text] "At present, only the one-party system can help us. Because, at a time of great tensions, in the crucial period of perestroyka, what counts is the consolidation of all the forces working in its favor. If we now raise the question of a multiparty system in the USSR, it would have the opposite effect. Instead of a strengthening, we would have division." This is one of the opinions expressed by Aleksandr Shulgin, first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Paris, in an interview to the February issue of the monthly LE CHOC DU MOIS.

It is not usual for a Soviet diplomat to grant an interview to an extreme right-wing publication. This interview "cannot be regarded as my country's official viewpoint," Mr Shulgin said.

Referring to the common European home, Mr Shulgin said that "to build it, we must not destroy what already exists, namely European realities. They include the inviolability of borders, the existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the existence of two Germanies." Questioned by LE CHOC DU MOIS about whether the French Communist Party, like the Italian Communist Party, will develop in a less-Stalinist direction, the first secretary preferred "to refrain from passing judgment on a matter relating exclusively to French policy," and he added, with regard to Georges Marchais: "We think that he is one of those in the best position to know what policy to pursue in the French political context which is scarcely favorable to him. Because he is being subjected to numerous pressures, we therefore feel solidarity with Comrade Georges Marchais."

## Moscow Jewish Congress Viewed

*PM1502132390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Rabinovich: "Counterparts. What Stands Behind Zionists' Appeals"]

[Text] I want to share with readers some thoughts which probably perturb everyone. I shall begin with a fact. A fact which still requires consideration and assessment. A congress of USSR Jewish organizations and communities was held in Moscow 18 through 22 December 1989. Taking part in its work were 414 delegates from 198 Jewish organizations from 73 cities. About 60 representatives of the largest Western and Israeli Zionist organizations were also present, including S. Dinits [name as transliterated], chairman of the World Zionist Organization executive committee.

As for the local delegates, they included outright Zionists, pro-Zionists, and also supporters of cultural and national autonomy for the Jews, but they did not set the tone at the congress, and we are not discussing them here.

The well-known Israeli patriot M. Chlenov, "who views the state of Israel as the center of existence of our people" and two less well known people were elected the three cochairmen of the "conference of USSR Jewish communities and organizations" (VAAD) which was formed. VAAD's statute was adopted with restrained formulations, but a number of resolutions openly defend "political Zionism." This attests that VAAD's formation is in fact an attempt to legalize the Zionist movement in the USSR and, as L. Gorodetskiy, president of the Zionist organization "Irgun Tsioni," frankly said at the congress, an **"umbrella organization"** for it.

In order somehow to cover up the legalization in the USSR of a trend recognized by the United Nations as a form of racism, the congress adopted a pro-Zionist resolution which claims that "modern political Zionism... is a component and inalienable part of the worldwide national democratic movement." Since that is the case, VAAD lays claim to implementing "democratically" the "political representation" of all Soviet Jews both within the country and abroad and also to having its own representatives at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Such is the fact in its double-dyed pro-Zionist coloring. But what hides behind this fact, what does this dream mean?

The Zionists and pro-Zionists themselves now claim that Zionism has been defamed by the United Nations, that it is a "national democratic" and even a "national liberation" movement. That is why they call on Soviet Jews to display a "powerful orientation toward Israel," to support the "national liberation" ideas of Zionism. But in actual fact the Israel ruled by the Zionists has for several decades now acted as an aggressor and occupier of its neighbors' lands. That is the true face of these "democrats!"

But perhaps there is some reason in the slogan of a "national liberation" Zionism with regard to Soviet Jews? There have been noisy Zionist demonstrations in the United States with slogans about "freedom" for Soviet Jews. Indeed, in our own country, in the Soviet motherland, even without Israeli and U.S. prompting we will be able to look into who it is they intend to "liberate" Soviet Jews from. From friendship and cooperation with all Soviet peoples, from the motherland, in order to acquire a stepmother—either over the land or even across the ocean....

As for the "democratic nature" of such Zionist expressions of will, then it is very useful to specify who in general the pro-Zionist champions represent and in whose name they speak. So the present homegrown pro-Zionists claim to represent nothing more nor less than "all Jews," to call together under Zionist banners all Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality. Is the result as they see it that all Jews are either Zionists or should become Zionists? In this they find agreement from their counterparts [zayedinshchiki] belonging to "Pamyat." "These forces include all Jews plus Russians married to Jewish women and Russians who have simply been bought by the Zionists." So you can see there is complete unanimity between Zionists and anti-Semites.

But the initial falsehood is revealed quite simply. You only have to compare the pro-Zionists' slogans carried "up the main staircase" with the information which they have carried "up the back entrance" for "their cronies," steering them toward summoning "all hands" to the VAAD congress.

And so who do the VAAD Zionists represent? Anyone you like, but not the 1.37 million Soviet Jews. Here are lines from the document "information bulletin on problems of repatriation (to Israel) and Jewish culture" No. 11 (34) published before the VAAD congress: "Jews, of course, are trying somehow to unite.... Societies and clubs of lovers of Jewish culture and in some places cultural centers have been created. But neither societies of culture lovers nor a cultural center represents the people. Especially as only a small proportion of the people take part in the activity of these bodies. A very large proportion of the people are still waiting to see, are afraid, and are displaying their activeness in laughing up their sleeves with true Jewish humor and criticizing the actions of those who are at least doing something. It is worrying that under these conditions the planned Jewish congress **cannot be fully democratic and representative."** (My boldface—V.R.)

USSR People's Deputy writer Ya, Kanovich spoke of this, importing his impressions of the congress: "Some contradictory feelings also arise: Not a single mission, not a single representative organ can exist fruitfully enough unless the masses stand behind it. So far I can see this is a congress of leaders and pioneers but the 'chorus,' so to speak, stands outside the Dutch and U.S. embassies." (Press bulletin No. 2 of the congress of Jewish organizations and communities).

The small numbers of such "pioneers" was mentioned with overt bitterness by Izi Libler [name as transliterated], vice president of the World Jewish Congress, in his speech in Canada: "As of today it is estimated that there are in all only a few thousand activists absolutely dedicated to the cause of Jewish culture," a few thousand of those "who in the past acted illegally, even underground." Now, let us add, they have acquired in VAAD a legal "umbrella organization."

So who then did the "delegates" at the VAAD congress represent? Themselves. And the few Jewish organizations. But they had immoderate claims: To all appearances the VAAD "pioneers" and "activists" are seeking to play the part of leaders of some kind who would lead all Soviet Jews, the entire "chorus," to the gates of the Dutch and U.S. embassies. They stated this without embarrassment.

From the report delivered by M. Chlenov, cochairman of VAAD, on "the position of Soviet Jewry and its future": In the seventies "the best representatives of our people left. The feeling was created that the cream was being skimmed off the Soviet Jewry. Layer by layer. Perhaps now **Soviet Jews have entered the final phrase** of their existence. But for **the existence of all Jews** at least one generation's lifetime will be needed."

From the VAAD congress resolution "on problems of repatriation and emigration": "Although in the USSR "the majority of Jews are fully assimilated," "the congress states its resolute support for repatriation to Israel of Jews who have decided to leave the USSR." [quotemarks as published] M. Chlenov expressed himself more frankly: The aim set is of the "exit of all Jews" from the USSR. And the delegates who voted for this resolution knew this perfectly well as, indeed, did the VAAD congress guests. Therefore, before the final departure of "all" Soviet Jews to the bosom of "their" (that is how the resolution put it) Israeli state, a cultural program is proposed for the remaining Soviet assimilated Jews—the study of the Jewish language, preferably from textbooks from Israel and the United States.

The VAAD congress particularly relished the threat of anti-Semitism. The resolution on this issue paints a picture of "rampaging anti-Semitism" in the country, as a result of which "there has been unprecedentedly large-scale panic among the Jewish population in the USSR." Frightening people with the threat of Jewish pogroms (unknown either to the CPSU Central Committee, or to the USSR Council of Ministers, or to the KGB, or to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which regularly deny these rumors) the Zionists and pro-Zionists see in this the only in any way realistic incentive to ensure the continuation of the mass emigration of Jews from the USSR. Who stands to gain from these unfounded rumors? Is it not clear? Our antiZionist committee has expressed itself clearly on this subject in its statement....

How are we to treat the fact of the creation of VAAD. I recall that Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote three articles about Zionism—"Do the Jewish Proletariat Need an 'Independent Political Party?'", "The Position of the Bund in the Party," and "Maximum Shamelessness and Minimum Logic." In them he frankly said that the very idea of a "united Jewish nation," "that Zionist idea is in essence utterly false and reactionary" (complete collected works vol 8 p 72). It is from this reasoned position of Lenin's that we should proceed.

A different position is adhered to by, for instance, one of the instructors from the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department who, having visited the VAAD congress, blandly concluded without the slightest attempt to prove it (we cite from the VAAD congress press bulletin no. 4, p 2): "The congress is one of those new phenomena in nationalities policy which are taking place in our country. It is an example of the implementation of the party platform on nationalities policy under the new conditions...."

We have raid the CPSU platform "the party's nationalities policy under present conditions," but it does not contain a single word in favor of Zionism or anti-Semitism but states in a principled manner that, in opposing any manifestations of nationalism, it is important to be sensitive and responsive to all legal demands and aspirations of a national nature. We think that the responsible worker has channeled his tact and responsiveness in the wrong direction. He should be concerned to defend the true interests of Soviet citizens who are Jews whom the "political Zionists" are trying to force to break with their Soviet Fatherland.

It is time to tell our Soviet Jewish fellow citizens the whole truth: It is not a case here of their free choice of their place of residence but of their free choice between life in their native Soviet land and the shameful life of an invader of other people's land. I think that for the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews there is no problem in this choice: They are convinced internationalists and patriots of the Soviet Motherland.

In conclusion I should like to make a criticism of the CPSU Central Committee workers. We are all concerned that our Lithuanian comrades are trying to implement the long-standing false idea of the Bund separatists from Vilno (Vilnius) regarding the creation of their own national "independent political party" within the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. The little ideas of Zionism are more infectious than people suppose. Of course, there are half as many Soviet Jewish citizens as here are Soviet Lithuanian citizens but is it not more sensible, considering the present lessons of Lithuania, to express ourselves promptly, openly, and publicly regarding the stepping up of the rumors strenuously puffed up by some augurs concerning the pogrom threat and concerning the Zionist separatists' attempts at the political seduction of all Soviet Jews? To explain most clearly that exist is by no means a way out.

It is this truth about the real present and confident future of Soviet Jews which would be useful not only for their enlightenment but also for the consolidation of the community of all Soviet peoples!

## MVD Official Stresses Disaster Readiness

*90UN0885A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Second Edition p 8*

[Report on interview with V.M. Maksimchuk, deputy chief of the Main Administration of Fire Protection of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, by A. Urantsev: "Detachments That Take Risks and the Lessons of Fire"; place and date not given]

[Text] **It is very likely that he will never stand on skis again, and that he will never run on a track in a stadium.**

**The radiation burns that he received in the dark tunnels of Chernobyl did their thing. At that time, entering into battle against a nuclear fire, V. Maksimchuk, member of a governmental commission and chief of the fire fighting service, was firmly convinced: The one who thinks about the future will be victorious. Now, he, the deputy chief of the Main Administration of Fire Protection of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], is dedicating his whole heart and all of his remaining strength to the creation of the country's first operational regional fire detachments that help people whom misfortune strikes.**

"Chernobyl, the tragedy of Spitak and Leninakan, and the accident on the pipeline in the Urals taught us much," says Vladimir Mikhaylovich. "One thing is clear: We can no longer live so carelessly. The beginning of any catastrophe or accident is the most dangerous and critical moment. Who is obliged, both by service and conscience, to be the first to arrive on the scene of an accident and, by virtue of capable, efficient, and professional actions, to save dozens, hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands of lives? This is where the acuteness of the question lies today. It is no secret that many departments now have their own risk detachments. Each such service stews in its own juice. We do not know the plans of action of mine rescuers and the corresponding services of aviators, seamen, and miners, and they in turn do not know our concerns. Departmental individuality, as is well-known, does not lead to anything good. People must be confident: If trouble comes, there is someone who can come to their help in its first hours.

Therefore, in developing rapid reaction detachments we gave them a broader—regional—significance. A total of seven such subunits are being established, and this is being done without additional recruitment and at the expense of the staff strengths of already existing fire stations. They are being deployed throughout the country: The Kiev detachment will serve the entire western area; the Rostov detachment, the Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and the Transcaucasus; the Sverdlovsk detachment, the Urals; the Khabarovsk detachment, the Far East, Eastern Siberia, and so forth.

There are not only firefighters on the detachment staffs. Detachments are groups of rescuers who can work under the ground, under water, and in high mountains. Among the experts—each subunit has 150 people—there are chemists, dosimetrists, and medical personnel—mainly surgeons, and there are dog experts and divers. Each one of them is on daily watch duty.

The detachments can operate in an emergency situation autonomously in any spot in the country. The rescuers have a field kitchen, a three-day supply of food, a powerful radio station, tents, and sleeping bags. Airfields and takeoff and landing strips that can handle heavy IL-76 aircraft have been earmarked for the air delivery of subunits to the scene of an accident.

Local organs of authority are treating the creation of the emergency firefighting subunits with understanding, and they have allocated production bases, plots of land, service buildings, and housing for their use.

The risk detachments have been supplied the very best equipment in the inventory of the firefighters, the internal troops, and the chemical warfare troops [khimiki]. And still....

"We saw how the foreign rescuers worked in Armenia, and we envied them and their technical equipment in a friendly way," V. Maksimchuk recalls. "We still do not have mechanized instruments in our inventory and our own special emergency rescue vehicle, and many other things. But the fire-fighting units in Spitak and Leninakan in fact were at the epicenter of events, they maintained operational order, set up stable communications, and received the first earthquake victims.

Again the past teaches us, although the lessons come with difficulty. Eight thousand firefighters passed through Chernobyl. These people worked for 120 hours on the block. Now, as if yesterday, I see a five-km tail of steam and poisonous gases before my eyes. All of the vehicles died out, the carburetors were not getting enough air, but the people were working. The firefighters, by hand, and other fighters with stretchers, carried out radioactive rocks and rubbish. We do not have a right today to forget about those who are still in hospitals and who, because of sickness, did not get back to work.

The situation with respect to the means of protection is no better today: Only 14 percent of the fire-fighting staffs have gas masks now. How long will we send people without protective clothing to fight against poisonous gases and substances in emergency situations? This is happening for the reason that each ministry and department is responsible only for the emergency that occurs in its own enterprise or territory. There is no anguish and alarm over the fate of a neighbor who is in trouble.

Or this fact: Three years ago, A KA-32 helicopter was tested for the needs of the firefighters. It could be used for quenching fires in tall buildings. To this day, the firefighters have not received these aircraft. As in the past, they have the 30-meter automatic ladder, with whose help only the ninth floor can be "reached." If there is an emergency on the 25th floor, how are people to be saved?

Why do the firefighters not have a sufficient amount of protective equipment? It seems that over the course of the last 10 years, industry removed 17 types of fire equipment from production. They explain at the plants that it is disadvantageous for their collectives to fill small volume programs in producing such equipment. Also, there is no state order for its manufacture. So it turns out that now this very vital service in effect remains naked and defenseless.

In the meantime, life provides one test after another. Everyone remembers the events that were played out at the Ionavskiy chemical combine in Lithuania. Day and night, for three and a half days, 816 firefighters from

Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, and Kaliningrad Oblast fought with a poisonous hurricane. The emergency was eliminated, but 216 firefighters ended up in the hospital. Again people sustained burns of their respiratory passages, and chemical poisoning. In that situation, the firefighters, apart from the general gas masks, had no other protective equipment. All of this is the result of that departmental monopoly.

It is true that after the elimination of accidents, the former Minudobreniye [Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production] allocated 1 million foreign currency rubles for the equipment needs of the firefighters. The department saw with its own eyes how inconceivably difficult it was for specialists to overcome the aftereffects of a catastrophe with conventional metal crowbars and stretchers, instead of pneumatic drills. Now contracts have been concluded with foreign firms for the delivery of special motor vehicles and means of protection from chemical substances. All of the purchases and equipment will be turned over for use by the rapid reaction units.

It should be noted for the sake of fairness: Work is proceeding on the development of native remote control equipment. A training ground was built for its testing. In the current year, more than 100 mechanisms of various modifications will enter the fire-fighting arsenal.

In the opinion of firefighters, the need for the creation of a state system in the country for emergency reaction to emergency situations is overdue. Such measures make it possible to unite all departmental rescue services and also means the ability to react to any emergency with more powerful professional forces.

"Were new risk detachments functioning?"

"Life has already verified their operational readiness," answers Vladimir Mikhaylovich. "Such subunits participated in eliminating the aftereffects of the recent air crash near Sverdlovsk, where they were among the first to arrive at the aircraft crash site, and they saved passengers who were still alive from the fire. On the eve of 1990, as was reported in the press, seismologists predicted a powerful earthquake on Kamchatka. Fortunately, their forecast did not materialize. Operational regional fire-fighting detachments in Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, and Khabarovsk were alerted. Radio stations were deployed, and reliable communications were established between the peninsula and the continent. The detachments are ready on the first signal to come to the aid of the people. That is indeed their primary mission."

### Sakhalin Natives Form Association

*LD0202160590 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 2 Feb 90*

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Sakhalin, February 2 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy:

The small native peoples living in the gripping climatic conditions of the north of Sakhalin Island in the Okhotsk Sea have turned a new page in their centuries-old history.

Representatives of Nivkhis, Oroks, and Evenks (there are only about 3,000 Nivkhis left in Sakhalin now) have founded an association of the indigenous residents of the north of Sakhalin region. After the new public organisation endorsed its statutes, it was officially registered by the local government body—the executive of the regional soviet of peoples' deputies.

"We united to defend the vital interests of our fellow citizens and constructively influence the increase in their political activity and the development of the economy and culture of the small peoples inhabiting the north," said Nikolay Solovyev, president of the association, a Nivkhi. He is a technician at an electric power station.

The territory of Sakhalin is rich in oil and the liquid gold has been extracted here since the mid 1920's. However, the intensive industrial development of this region's natural wealth adversely affected the pattern and quality of life of its indigenous residents.

Damage was done to their settlements and traditional pursuits: deer breeding and fishing. Many Nivkhis, Evenks, and Oroks were forced to resettle in cities and large villages. Their divorce from nature has markedly changed their world outlook and mode of life.

To become true masters of the land once again is the principal goal of the new association. It asked the Soviet parliament to expedite the elaboration and adoption of a law that would seal the right of the small peoples of the north to priority land use in places of their traditional settlement and economic management.

## Economic

### Gorbachev Adviser Petrakov on Market Economy

*LD1402122790 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 14 Feb 90*

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—By TASS economic analyst Andrey Orlov:

Measures to introduce elements of the market into the Soviet economy are rightly assessed as one of the most important clauses of the Soviet Communist Party platform for the 28th CPSU Congress, recently published here.

Many of its concepts are not merely unusual for Soviet people, but would have been regarded as encroachements upon the Soviet system's foundations only two or three years ago. They include multiple forms of ownership—individual ownership of means of production, land leasing by private persons, including the right to inherit, credits, interests, shares...

Research into market economy problems is obviously insufficient in the USSR as yet. The Market Institute, which is now being set up under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences, will study market problems and issue independent recommendations to the country's leadership.

Problems of the Soviet economy are now studied by several recognized "think tanks" of the country—the Institute of the Economy, the Central Institute of Economic and Mathematics and others. The trouble is that many scientists are now subordinated to different departments (the State Planning Committee, specialized ministries or committees) and are therefore unable to make really independent evaluations. Others are dealing with narrow and specific problems. As a result, some most important indicators, indispensable today for leaders of any developed country, are simply lacking in the USSR.

"The key economic indicators, which have never been calculated in the USSR, include, for instance, the minimum living standard," TASS was told by Nikolay Petrakov, leading Soviet economist and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "But without them it is simply impossible to revamp the price formation system or to go over to a uniform system of taxation, and to carry out the economic reform in general.

"It is necessary to know how these measures will tell on this or that social strata and whether they will affect the living standards negatively or not. The absence of such expert evaluations is among the reasons behind the mishaps of the economic reform," the scientist believes.

Nikolay Petrakov, a dedicated advocate of the market economy, who last month became an advisor to President Mikhail Gorbachev, advanced the idea to set up the Market Institute, on which he pins great hopes. The institute is expected to be a small mobile institution, capable of promptly responding to the requirements of the country's leadership, drawing up economic reviews, making independent recommendations before important steps are taken in the course of the economic reform.

## Price Hikes Reversed After Trade Unions Complain

*PM1402112190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Ye. Sorokin report under the "Reporting Details" rubric: "Accord Reached"]

[Text] As PRAVDA has already reported, a conflict developed between the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] and the government in connection with the increases in diesel fuel prices, freight carriage charges, and electricity prices as of 1 January. The trade unions submitted a protest to the government in this connection.

The point was that the news shocked many labor collectives, which perceived it as a serious threat to their economic and financial prosperity. It became clear that, as a result of this action's implementation, working people would lose earnings and enterprises would suffer substantial cuts in their funds for social needs.

In an interview with PRAVDA USSR Finance Minister V. Pavlov emphasized the need for the government measures, stating that "the AUCCTU is taking a stand against measures which have been taken into account in the plan and budget, when it has participated in all stages of their discussion in the government and the USSR Supreme Soviet."

This statement is inaccurate. The point is that, from the very beginning, the trade unions were against such a solution to economic problems.

In an editorial commentary PRAVDA invited both sides to a constructive dialogue. And so A. Biryukova, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR Finance Minister V. Pavlov arrived to attend the 10 February sitting of the AUCCTU Interunion Trade Union Commission. The session was chaired by K. Turysov, commission chairman and AUCCTU secretary.

A sitting of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium was held the previous day. It noted that the introduction of the new higher prices and charges has led to serious economic difficulties at many enterprises and to the emergence of conflicts. The Presidium instructed the USSR Ministry of Finance, pending a final decision on the amount of compensation to enterprises, to grant them a deferment until 1 April 1990 regarding payments into the budget equivalent to the estimated amount of any reductions in wage funds, material incentives funds, and social development funds in the first quarter. It is planned to complete all the work on compensation for costs incurred through the introduction of new wholesale prices in two stages—on the basis of first quarter work results by 1 April, and on the basis of work results for the first half of 1990 during the third quarter. Moreover, it is proposed to be guided by the principled guidelines that the introduction of the new charges should not involve consumer enterprises in any reductions in wage funds, material incentives funds, and social development funds. The Presidium gave instructions that an operational schedule for work associated with the introduction of new wholesale prices and compensation to enterprises be elaborated within five days.

This was the government's answer to the trade unions, whose demands are fully met. A. Biryukova, addressing the commission sitting, apologized to the AUCCTU for the delay in replying (the trade union had demanded that a decision be made by 5 February). She noted that the decision to raise prices and charges was dictated by the need for economic recovery, but proved to be insufficiently well thought-out. The result was a serious miscalculation which developed into an acute conflict between the government and the trade unions.

AUCCTU Chairman S. Shalayev, commenting on the government decision, noted that the compensation to enterprises for any loss associated with the new charges will ultimately give them an additional incentive to save funds. But fresh questions also arose at the commission sitting, specifically questions associated with the activity of enterprises which have low profitability or are planned to operate at a loss. Compensation work must be more flexible, and therefore it is necessary to conduct broad consultations with both enterprises and sectorial trade unions. We have, the AUCCTU chairman noted, a creeping price hike: freight carriage today, bricks tomorrow, and electricity the day after tomorrow. Consequently, the AUCCTU chairman demanded that the government freeze prices. The decision was made, but prices for products for industrial purposes keep on rising, which will ultimately also reduce the working people's living standards.

It must be noted that this is by no means the first occasion when trade unions have manifested a principled approach. They were not asleep in the past, but very few people knew about this—it was deemed "immodest" to turn the spotlight of glasnost on differences between the AUCCTU and the government. Incidentally, it was at the trade unions' demand that the Council of Ministers reviewed the provisions for taxation of wage funds 2 February. "Initially we made ill-considered decisions," S. Shalayev noted, "and then we suddenly come to our senses and start correcting the situation." All this, it seems, is due to the fact that the government does not always deem it necessary to consult labor collectives.

Bearing in mind that the Council of Ministers has acknowledged its errors as regards the increase in prices and charges and has given assurances that such decisions will not be made in the future without consultation with labor collectives and trade unions, and also taking into account the fact that the conflict has been resolved, the Interunion Trade Union Commission has suspended its work. The commission will resume its activity unless all agreed questions are resolved by 1 April. A working group has been set up on a parity basis for the effective solution of all emerging questions associated with the implementation of what has been planned.

## City Economist Comments on Moscow Experiment

*PM1502095190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[V. Romanyuk report on interview with V. Palyutin, deputy chief of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Economic Department; no place or date of interview specified: "Moscow Switching to Self-Financing"]

[Text] Moscow has started rehearsing an economic management mechanism based on self-management and self-financing. The USSR Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution on this matter.

It defines the following most important objectives and priorities: to ensure the social orientation of the capital's economy, the financial recovery of the city's economy, and greater dependence of city and rayon budgets on the results of financial and economic activity; to more broadly involve local reserves and resources in economic circulation; and to more actively utilize the advantages of territorial division of labor and production sharing.

I asked V. Palyutin, deputy chief of Moscow Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] Economic Department, to comment on this extensive document.

"The problem of the development of regional economic accountability has not been adequately elaborated," Vladimir Sergeyevich told me. "Much remains unclear, especially as regards a major city like Moscow. Here is one of the experiment's specific features: The city authorities are approaching the labor collectives directly. It is on them that the city's budget will depend. Alas, science has not provided a reliable set of tools for implementing the principles of self-management and self-financing. Many problems are manifested in an acute form in Moscow."

At present, the city budget's expenditure exceeds revenue by 265 million rubles. Nonetheless, as V. Palyutin declared, and in contrast with other regions, the city authorities have no intention of asking for even a single kopek from the country's budget. What sort of self-financing would this be otherwise? Only two indicators are set from above—control figures and limits; all the savings from centralized capital investments and the revenue which the city might earn from economic activity and by way of nonbudget income will no longer be appropriated by the exchequer as before.

[Palyutin] The city's budget revenue in 1990 will include 10 percent payments from profits (revenues) and charges for labor resources payable by enterprises under union and republic jurisdiction. A truly radical step! Some 85 percent of enterprises in the capital's industry are under union or republic jurisdiction. While making use of services in the social sphere, for a long time they made disproportionately small payments into the local budget—the brunt was borne by enterprises under local jurisdiction (the remaining 15 percent).

The shaping of the city's nonbudget revenue is a special topic of conversation. It should be made up of voluntary contributions from enterprises and organizations and the proceeds of local loans, auctions, and money-goods lotteries. It would also include funds acquired from enterprises for earning unjustified profits through higher prices and charges, for incomplete utilization of raw materials, or for pollution of the environment. Enterprises in the state cinematography network, which were hitherto subsidized, will no longer be liable to pay taxes on the movies they show and will finally be able to support themselves.

Here is another important feature: Whereas formerly all budget allocations had to be spent (otherwise they would confiscated!), now it is possible to accumulate and spend sensibly. On the other hand, the amount to be spent cannot exceed the amount that has been earned—additional funds will not be forthcoming from anywhere.

Within the limits of available financial resources, Moscow Gorispolkom is given an opportunity to increase, over and above the level set by legislation, the amount of benefits payable to single-parent families, large and low-income families, the disabled, and the aged. There is an opportunity to raise the expenditure norms for funds used on the maintenance of hospitals, schools, and cultural institutions, to raise the amounts spent on the maintenance of children in boarding schools and children's homes, and to raise the wages of workers in this sphere. In essence, conditions have been created to make citizens' living standards dependent on them and on the standards of economic management by soviets of people's deputies at city, and especially at rayon level.

Moscow Gorispolkom is given the right to conclude priority contracts for consumer goods deliveries. Moreover, all the extra quantities of goods produced from resources available to the territory will remain fully at the city's disposal. And so will the entire volume of output produced at local soviets' initiative—without involving centralized capital investment and centrally distributed resources.

In the conditions of the experiment, many rights are delegated to rayon-level links, where local self-management committees are gathering strength. A major struggle will have to be waged against departmentalism and the ongoing growth of the number of offices and scientific research institutes in the city. Land charges could become a serious obstacle to the development of these negative processes. And Moscow Gorispolkom would begin acquiring sizeable amounts from such charges. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform countermanded land charges, basing its decision on the lack of methodology. But if substantial provisions are lacking, temporary ones could be brought into effect. It is necessary to act resolutely, without any procrastination, if real positive changes are to be achieved in the city's socioeconomic development.

## Officials Discuss Food, Power, Railways Resources

*PM1402095190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "We Shall Make it to Spring. That at Least Is What Department and Ministry Leaders Assert"]

[Text] V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases:

"Here are a few figures to consider: In the early seventies we produced one-third less milk and meat. In the past four years meat production has increased by 5 million metric tons—that is nearly 30 percent. Yet the shelves have emptied... What does that tell us? Yes, our customers' potential has increased.

"On the other hand, some republics and oblasts have understood economic independence in a parasitical way. There has been a shortfall of 130,000 metric tons of meat for the union stocks. For instance, the Baltic republics delivered only half the state order. Deliveries in Tataria and Bashkiria have been disrupted and as a result the industrial centers in the north have found themselves in a difficult position.

"In general there are no miracles. And a drastic improvement in the food situation is scarcely possible. Retail prices are a serious question: Nowhere is meat as cheap as in our country."

V.N. Ginko, USSR first deputy minister of railroads:

"It is difficult for us. For the first time in the past five years the shipments plan has not been fulfilled and the railroad workers' financial situation has deteriorated accordingly. There are several reasons.

"First, we suffered heavy losses in connection with the interethnic conflicts and strikes. The main trouble, of course, is the events in the Transcaucasus. It has been virtually cut off from the rest of the country.

"There are 11,000 cars for Armenia, 11,000 for Azerbaijan, and 10,000 for Georgia standing at the railroads.

"And even in better times we did not have enough cars.

"For some reason many leaders, basing themselves on the opinion of labor collective councils, consider it more advantageous to pay fines than increased wages for night time work and work on leave days."

R.I. Vyakhirev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Gas Concern:

"If I had been asked this question just two weeks ago I would not have spoken so confidently. Now I can firmly say that we shall fulfill our main task—supplying the national economy with gas.

"We have essentially renounced the plan. We calculate the necessary volume of gas on the basis of orders from consumers. Each day we must utilize 108 million cubic meters. And each day there are violators, those who take more than their orders.

"About 64 percent of the gas extracted goes for social needs—heating, agriculture, and the ecology—to replace ecologically harmful types of fuel with gas. Now many electric power stations (about 40 percent) operate on gas although, of course, it is not economical to use natural gas for these purposes."

A.P. Fisun, USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry:

"Things are not going so badly for us as people usually think. We reached the end of 1989 with a reserve of 35 million metric ton, that is no less than a year ago. The plans have been fulfilled and the breaches driven by the strikers have been closed.

"There are reserves of coal in the Kuzbass, Krasnoyarsk, Ekibastuz, Vorkuta, and Karaganda. It is something else that worries us—questions of delivery. We now have 2.2 million metric ton of coal which must be shipped urgently. But the railroaders are not coping—there are no cars."

Ye.I. Petryayev, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification:

"Power engineering is now in a critical or pre-crisis state. The shortage of electricity is growing every year. This year the shortage will be four percent.

"Virtually all electricity today goes for domestic purposes—industry takes a miserly share. Recently charges for lighting were decreased by four percent in rural areas and its consumption rose drastically. Not surprisingly, it has become more advantageous to heat houses with electrical appliances than with logs or coal.

"Public feeling opposed to the development of power engineering and the construction of new electric power stations is one of the main reasons for the present-day crisis. A no less important reason is the ecology. Today we consume an enormous quantity of ecologically harmless gas, but we realize that its stocks will come to an end and after 2000, if not before, we will have to abandon it completely. The program for the development of power engineering adopted in 1983 envisaged the development of atomic power stations. But since then there has been Chernobyl.

## Far North Industry Face Environmental Curbs

*PM1502100590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations has been held. The session, chaired by V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, discussed the ecological situation in the Pechora basin. It was noted that enterprises and organizations in the region, under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry, USSR Ministry of Geology, USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, other ministries and departments, and also the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, are conducting some nature conservation measures while developing the region's natural resources.

At the same time, these ministries' enterprises are in breach of nature conservation legislation requirements on many counts.

A commission resolution on this matter defines specific tasks which aim to radically improve the ecological situation and the use of natural resources in the region. It outlines measures to preserve and restore salmon stocks in the basin.

The commission instructed the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the USSR State Committee for Forestry to consider the question of ending the industrial procurement of timber in the upper reaches of the Pizhma and also to clarify the division of forests in the Pechora basin into protected groups and categories.

The commission noted the statement by N.S. Lyashuk, deputy minister of the timber industry, that felling operations in planned felling areas will be stopped in 1991 and heavy procurement machinery will no longer be used in timber procurement operations beginning in 1992.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments were instructed to specially monitor the fulfillment of nature conservation measures in the region in 1990, complete the drafting of the interdepartmental program to improve the condition and the protection of the environment in the Pechora basin—the "Pechora Clean-Up" Program—in the first half of this year, and resolve the question of financing work under this program.

The commission recommended that, together with the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers and the Arkhangelsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, the RSFSR Council of Ministers consider the question of setting up a regional body of representatives of state and social organizations to coordinate and monitor nature conservation activity in the Pechora basin.

It also discussed the question of improving the organization of work to stop petroleum, petroleum products, and chemicals from pouring into the sea, preserve marine life, and prevent the pollution of the coastline.

## Implications of New Estonian Currency Explored

*LD1302220190 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 13 Feb 90*

[By TASS Economic Writer Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow February 13 TASS—Estonia's decision to introduce its own currency goes a much longer way towards secession from the Soviet Union than any political declarations and rallies.

New Estonian kroner now being printed in West Germany create a new situation. It requires the analysis of possible economic consequences for Estonia and in the long run for Lithuania and Latvia and for the whole of the federation.

The problem of the settlement of debts promises to become one of the trickiest. It will be necessary to compare the assets of every republic (the savings and ready money of the population and funds on the accounts of enterprises) with their debts under various credits and contractual obligations within the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the conclusion of a new federal agreement transforming the obligations of the sides into a state credit with specific deadlines for repayment would be the least painful way out.

The situation with foreign balances of the USSR of which Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia are part is much more complicated.

However, the Soviet Union's foreign assets (state credits to foreign countries, assets in foreign banks, real estate owned by the USSR abroad, and gold reserves) are not large as compared with foreign debt. According to the USSR State Bank the Soviet Union's net debt amounts to 30 billion dollars.

It seems it is hoped that in the Baltic republic that their debts can be written off on arrangement with the USSR. But doing it without the consent of Western creditors would be a violation of international law. Western creditors have no particular pleasure about the prospect of having to deal with Estonia or Lithuania instead of the Soviet Union with its reputation of a highly reliable debtor. On the other hand, the refusal of the Baltic republics to claim their part of the USSR's debt could be an unpleasant precedent.

Just imagine, what if Russia decides to secede from the Soviet Union without recognising the debts of the USSR, or recognising the debts of czar's Russia. Who will then be repaying debts?

And, finally, if the Baltic republics secede from the Soviet Union in this way, they will not be trusted, in the same way as a man who has dined in a restaurant and refuses to pay the bill is not trusted.

One gets the impression that upon seceding from the Soviet Union, the Baltic republics intend to claim the gold reserves of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia that were deposited in New York, London, and Basel banks before 1940 and that have not been issued to the USSR.

Not going into the analysis of how far these claims are justified, one might surmise that they have a political rather than an economic nature. Even if the gold is returned, this will hardly improve the financial position of the three republics.

The USSR State Bank estimates these gold reserves at 4.25 metric ton (3,612.2 kilograms of gold belonging to Estonia, 632 kilograms to Lithuania and 5.5 kilograms to Latvia). They are valued at not more than 50 million dollars.

It should be noted that the annual budget of Latvia alone makes up over six billion rubles.

There is a multitude of problems regarding the specific mechanism for secession from the USSR. But as soon as the problem arose, the way out should be sought with the minimum damage for the sides.

## Military

### Moiseyev Views Military Section of Party Platform

*PM1402113690 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 90 First Edition p 1*

[Interview with Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; date, place of interview not stated: "We Share the Same Tasks"; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, who took part in the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, answers questions put by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade Army General, how do you assess the results of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum's work and the Central Committee's draft platform for the 28th party congress which it adopted?

[Moiseyev] I am convinced that the significance of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum for our society as a whole, for the party, and for perestroyka is enormous. The keen and substantive debate that took place at the plenum offered a profound, comprehensive critical analysis of all the processes taking place in our country.

Speaking of the draft platform, I would like to note first and foremost the importance of its consolidating influence on society and the party, which is particularly necessary today. It accords with the realities of our life and suggests ways of ensuring further progress.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum approved the draft platform taking into account the discussion and the comments made by participants, and has submitted the document for broad discussion among communists and all working people. As a contribution to this discussion, I must say that the document, in my view, contains many generalities that are not backed up by the necessary measures. The impression is that it was drawn up without taking into account the stormy processes that are now taking place in the country as a whole, including the Armed Forces. Army and Navy communists would have liked the document to set forth the truth, however bitter. In particular, the section devoted to defense does not fully reflect the contribution of the Soviet Armed Forces to defending the country and ensuring its security; their role is to some extent belittled, and there is evidence of a desire to exclude the Army from society's active life and cut it off from the people.

Unfortunately the draft platform contains no political assessment of everything that is now happening in the East European countries and in our own country and the changes that have taken place in the Warsaw Pact. I think it would be right for it to mention the mission of the Armed Forces, their foreign and domestic function at the present stage, the implementation of the new Soviet defensive doctrine, and the role of patriotic and international education of young people.

The question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia and Hungary is now acute. More than 35,000 officers and warrant officers and some 30,000 families will be returning to the Motherland with them. We do not rule out the possibility of the same thing happening in Poland and the GDR. We will withdraw the troops, but no one has yet given much thought to what this means. We will become still more keenly aware of the social problems associated with the provision of facilities for the officers and warrant officers and their families, who will virtually have the status of refugees, without apartments, their families without jobs, and their children—and there are nearly 19,000 of them—without schools. A special state social security program for servicemen and their families, which M.S. Gorbachev spoke of, is indeed necessary. Considerable funds will also be needed to provide facilities for the troops.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You have touched on some very important problems. But why were they not raised at the plenum, why were there no servicemen among the speakers? Incidentally, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are asking this question, too.

[Moiseyev] What can I say. The standing orders for the plenum were very strict—as you know, even the two days originally allowed were not enough. And there were a great many questions of vital importance to the country and party to discuss. So by no means everyone who wanted to speak was able to do so. Among the servicemen participating in the plenum there were many who were prepared to mount the platform. I too put my name down to speak. If I had been given the floor I would have spoken, in particular, about military reform on the basis of the defensive doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency, which is reflected in the draft party platform. Transformations are already in progress in the Army and Navy, covering both questions of building the Armed Forces and social problems. Let me mention only the vast work that is currently in progress: the unilateral reduction in the Armed Forces, the development of a defensive structure for them, the fulfillment of international agreements on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the current talks in Geneva and Vienna, and perestroyka in the system of training and education of personnel. The creation of Officers' Assemblies and the expansion of democracy and glasnost in the Armed Forces—these too are components of the reform. Many questions also arise in connection with Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, and in particular the role of political organizers in the Armed Forces in these circumstances.

In accordance with a CPSU Central Committee resolution, a special commission has been set up in the Armed Forces, consisting of representatives of the Defense Ministry, the USSR Supreme Soviet, CPSU Central Committee departments, and the USSR Council of Ministers, to draw up a prospectus for the building of the Armed Forces in 1991-95 and for the period through the year 2000, making provision for radical transformations in the Armed Forces.

But I am worried about the fact that this section of the platform does not contain a single word about service in the Army as the constitutional duty of every citizen of the Soviet Union. There is not even a mention of strengthening the unity of the Army and the people, yet this problem is a very urgent item on the agenda. This is particularly clear in the context of events in Transcaucasia, the Baltic region, Moldavia, central Asia, and other regions. The Law on Universal Military Service is being flagrantly violated, as well as other laws adopted by the First and Second Congresses of USSR People's Deputies. This section should be formulated on the basis of state and social interests.

I am also worried by the fact that there has recently been a sharp increase in the activity of the campaign against the Army—and, in principle, against the state—to disrupt the Armed Forces draft. Thus in the fall draft, more than 6,500 people refused to serve in the Army. And this was often done with the direct support of republican and local organs of power. The growing antiarmy propaganda and the inactivity and sometimes connivance on the part of party and soviet organs with the people's fronts and other informal organizations will obviously create even more difficulties and intensify the negative phenomena in connection with this year's draft. In a number of rayons of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, the soviet executive committees are refusing to set up draft commissions or finance measures connected with the drafting of citizens into military service.

There has been an increase in the number of persons of the Transcaucasian nationalities deserting from the Army. At present around 1,200 deserters are in hiding on the territory of the Transcaucasian republics. Some of them are used to man the detachments of combatants. The leaders of the people's fronts have sent envoys to carry out subversive work in military units stationed throughout the country's territory, all the way to Kamchatka, with a view to whipping up nationalist sentiments and demoralizing personnel. The exchange of opinions between informal associations from Transcaucasia and the Baltic region in Riga on 2 February did not add anything constructive.

The preparation of candidates for the draft is causing particular concern. The transition to economic accountability and the development of the cooperative movement have created serious obstacles to such work. The drafting of men due for military service from regions of the North Caucasus to enforce the state of emergency in Azerbaijan and Armenia prompted a negative reaction from the population and some soviet and party leaders. Yet because of the Armed Forces reductions, work with draftees comes to the forefront. And this is not only a matter for the USSR Defense Ministry, but first and foremost for the local soviet and party organs.

As for the question of creating national formations, which is talked about so much, I can say with certainty that today it would be not merely impermissible, but criminal to entrust weapons to national formations. The events in Transcaucasia are an illustration of this. Enough blood has been shed there already. Both military men and civilians are dying.

Why am I focusing attention on this? Because the problems of ensuring the country's security still exist, since the danger of war has not been eliminated for us. The American administration's foreign policy course has not undergone any marked changes. U.S. President G. Bush, speaking in California at the Lawrence National Laboratory in Livermore and at the "Community Club" on the new approaches to national security questions, came out in favor of the priority development of American strategic offensive forces, as well as the acceleration of work on the strategic defense initiative program. He said that some success has been achieved within the SDI framework, which will substantially add to the U.S. potential for "keeping the peace" in this decade and early in the next century. The strengthening of American military might, according to G. Bush's statement, serves as a "catalyst for arms reduction."

True, it cannot be denied that the party and government show tremendous concern for the Armed Forces. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in the public awareness today, the Army's role is belittled, and attempts are being made to drive a wedge between the Army and the people. This is, I am convinced, a direct failure on the part of our party and soviet organs. The growth of the Armed Forces' prestige is also hampered by many of the mass media, which often go in for provocative reports. We are in favor of reasonable, objective criticism, but we are resolutely opposed to defamation and insults against everything that the Army has done and is doing in the state's interests.

We are prepared to fulfill any order from the Motherland to defend the Soviet people. But together we must do everything to ensure that the people do not lose their faith in the Army. This is our common state task.

## Chief Lizichev Views Plenum at Ministry Aktiv

*PM1402163190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 90 First Edition p 1*

[Major General D. Smirnov report: "To Advance the Cause of Perestroyka"]

[Text] Army General A. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has met with the leading personnel and party aktiv of the main and central directorates of the USSR Ministry of Defense. There was a thorough discussion of the results of the February plenum of the party's Central Committee and of the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th party congress.

It was pointed out that the success of perestroyka in the Army and Navy is inconceivable without activating the work of political organs and primary party organizations and enhancing their role in resolving urgent problems. Practical measures were defined to prepare for the party organs' upcoming reports and elections.

Army Gen. A. Lizichev answered numerous questions from the meeting participants.